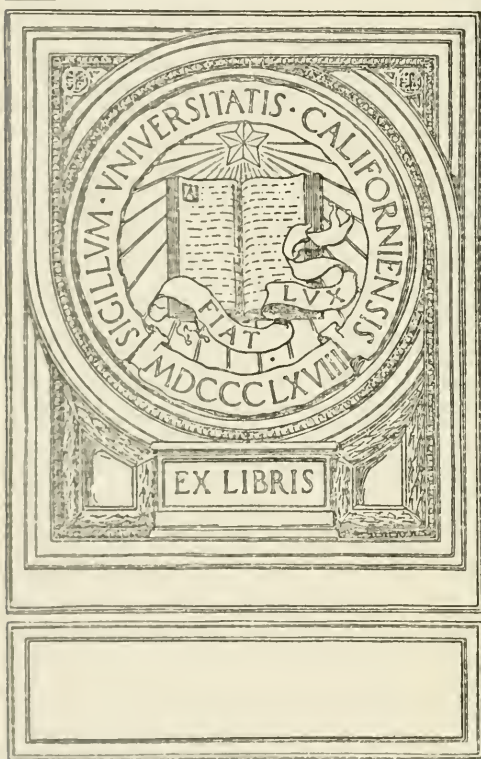




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LIFE AND LABOUR
OF THE
PEOPLE IN LONDON

LIFE AND LABOUR
OF THE
PEOPLE IN LONDON

BY
CHARLES BOOTH

ASSISTED BY
ERNEST AVES

Second Series: Industry



COMPARISONS, SURVEY AND CONCLUSIONS

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Note to 1903 Edition

This volume, originally published in 1897 as Vol. IX. of "LIFE AND LABOUR," has undergone detailed revision, and the Abstract of the first nine volumes, which was formerly given here, has been transferred to the final volume, as part of the Summary of the now complete work.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS volume, which concludes the present series, contains two parts. In the first, comparisons are made between the various trade sections as to apparent poverty, "crowding," earnings, proportion of Londoners, numbers in family, ages of workers, proportion of employers to employed, and increase or decrease [1861-1891] of numbers engaged. These chapters, though somewhat forbidding, contain matter of considerable interest, being in fact a distillation of all the statistics concerning the above-mentioned groups of facts.

The second part, drawing on the whole preceding accounts of London trades, treats of such subjects as irregularity of employment, trade unionism, methods and amount of remuneration and industrial remedies for poverty. It deals mainly in generalizations, but any London reader can if he will shift the point of view from the general to the particular by taking as an example any trade or occupation, or the lot of any individual worker of which he has exact knowledge, in order to test the correctness of the conclusions to which we have come. He may classify himself or anyone whose circumstances are known to him, according to the trade at which he works, the wages earned and the character of the home in which he lives. There is no life that is led in

London which may not serve as an illustration to this book, no individual who may not find his place in its schedules. In this way a definite value may be given to the gradations of my scale, and a test may be applied to the probability of the conclusions drawn.

The closing chapter touches upon the standard of life, actual or possible, and so steps into line with the first series of this work, thus completing the design originally laid down and expressed in the title of the book.

Still this does not conclude the work, but what remains to be done is of a different character, being to estimate the forces for good or evil that are acting upon the condition of the population before we can arrive at that balancing of hopes and fears that will form our final judgment.

PART I.—COMPARISONS.



CHAPTER I.

CROWDING AND APPARENT POVERTY.

IN the poorer parts of London most of the houses have a frontage of from 12 to 15 ft. only, and of this about 3 ft. is devoted to entrance passage and stairs. The front room on the first floor has usually two windows and occupies the whole breadth of the house. This may be repeated on the floor above. The other rooms are all somewhat smaller. The largest size commonly found is about 12 by 14 ft. and the smallest perhaps 8 ft. by 8 ft. The height from floor to ceiling varies from 8 to 10 ft.

It is with rooms of this character, containing on an average about 1000 cubic ft. of space, but varying among themselves to the extent indicated above, that we have usually to deal when the number of rooms occupied by a family is taken as a measure of poverty. Two or more persons making their home in one such room, or four or more in two such rooms, or six or more in three, are accounted crowded and therefore presumably poor; the assumption being that if they were not poor they would allow themselves more space. It is evident that this theory has many limitations, and affords but a rough test of poverty. Not only does the actual size of the room or rooms come into question, but much depends on the meaning of "person." A mother and her baby count for two, but one room is all that they really require, whereas for two adults to eat, sleep and live in one room is a condition of crowding which would hardly

be endured unless poverty compelled. Whether a family of four in two rooms is more crowded or less so than two families of two persons each occupying one room would probably depend on the management. With orderly arrangements the enlarged family might gain—but if disorder reigned the increase in numbers would undoubtedly aggravate discomfort. But in comparing large bodies of men one with another, such considerations may be ignored; for in almost every trade we shall find every description of family living in every kind of house in somewhat similar proportions.

Another irregularity springs from the greater difficulty found in obtaining house-room in some quarters than in others, and the consequent high rents paid by those who must give whatever is necessary to enable them to be near their work. These people, for workmen, may be well off, and quite beyond the pinch of poverty, yet they have to endure and make the best of very limited accommodation. A still more common case in which the test fails is where house-room is so plentiful and rents so low, or their payment so easily evaded, that even the poorest people need not be crowded in the rooms of which they make their homes. In such cases a low percentage of crowding may be combined with a high degree of poverty.

In spite of these divergencies, we are probably justified in assuming, that on the average crowding does provide a reasonably fair measure of poverty; and some support is given to this assumption by the fact that the total percentage of poverty indicated by this test agrees almost exactly with that reached in our previous inquiry by a different method, about 30 per cent. of poverty being shown in both ways. But the tests applied are very rough, and the results attained do not pretend to be more than an approximation to the truth.

The meaning attached throughout to the word "poverty," and the distinction drawn between the "poor" and the

"very poor" must also be borne in mind. The "poor" have been defined or described as including alike those whose earnings are small because of irregularity of employment and those whose work though regular is ill-paid. They are further defined as those whose means are barely sufficient for decent independent life. Though not in actual "want," they would be the better for more of everything. Their lives are an unending struggle and lack comfort, but these people are neither ill-nourished nor ill-clad according to any standard that can reasonably be used. And finally, to come to figures, I have suggested 18s to 21s per week for a moderate-sized family as the income I have had in my mind. The "very poor"—who answer more or less to the very crowded, *i.e.* those living three or more to a room—are those who from any cause fall below this standard.

Although the average results may be fairly trustworthy, there is a very considerable difference according as the test of crowding is applied in the inner or in the outer circle of London. This difference, which we find in almost every trade, is largely due to the question of rent, but it also responds to the broad circumstance that the poorer representatives in nearly every trade live nearest to, and the better off furthest from, the centre of London.

It must be remembered moreover that we can only deal with *apparent* poverty. A man who earns good wages may spend but little of them on his home. Such is notoriously the case in trades where the rate of pay is high and the work intermittent, especially when wages are earned by great physical exertion, as for instance with the coal-porters. We are compelled by our method to treat the desire for sufficient house accommodation as a force acting uniformly or proportionately on all, but this is by no means always the case.

Taking into account so far as possible these considerations and limitations, we may proceed to compare the

trades and groups of trades into which we have divided the people of London. It appears that, tested by the crowded conditions in which they live, street-sellers, coal-porters and dock-labourers are the poorest sections of the population (*see* Table I. on page 8). On the whole, street-sellers take the lead, having, if we exclude those returned as employers, 69 per cent. of families living two or more persons in each room. Coal-porters come next with 65 per cent., followed closely by the 63 per cent. of dock-labourers. These two latter sections consist almost entirely of the employed class.

It is noteworthy that two-thirds of the costermongers and two-thirds of the dock-labourers live in the inner ring. As a rule these proportions are reversed: amongst coal-porters the homes of only one-third are in the inner ring.

The fact that crowded homes are not always a test of poverty where house accommodation is difficult to obtain and rents are high, does not apply to any very great extent in these sections. With costermongers the proportion rises to 71 per cent. in the inner, and falls to 55 per cent. in the outer circle; with coal-porters the comparative rates are 74 and 59 per cent.; while dock-labourers have about 62 per cent. of crowding wherever they live.

Finally, if we test these sections by the extreme cases of crowding, namely those in which three or more persons occupy each room, we find the same order. Street-sellers again lead with no less than 36 per cent., coal-porters come next with 30 per cent., and dock-labourers follow with 28½ per cent.

In no other occupations are the signs of poverty and discomfort quite so great, but the section of general labourers is not far behind in this unenviable competition. These labourers are, however, a selection of the poorest out of many employments, and therefore do not enter quite fairly into comparison. A large number of them are, indeed, actually

employed as dock-labourers, coal-porters, or street-sellers, but being illiterate or without any special pride in their calling, put themselves down in the census schedule merely as "labouring men." That this must be so is certain, because the totals given in the census, especially for dock-labourers and costermongers, are undoubtedly very much below the true figures, and on the other hand the number of "general labourers" (returned as nearly eighty thousand) would not otherwise be accounted for. General labourers include also a proportion of loafers (though of these a large number would claim a trade), but for the rest are made up of contingents from many occupations, being usually men employed in unspecialized work who do not associate themselves—at any rate by name—with any particular trade, but are able to move from one kind of business to another, doing, wherever it may be required, labour of a rough character. To some extent, of course, this general heading may also comprise men whose work, though unskilled and simply called "labour," requires special practice. But when labourers are specially employed, and particularly when detailed to assist handicraftsmen, they are fully entitled and generally disposed to call themselves by the name of the trade in which they give assistance, as bricklayers' labourers, labourers in gasworks, or chemical labourers, &c. If returned in this way they cease, from the point of view of the census, to be "general labourers," and are included with bricklayers, gas-workers, &c. Some, however, return themselves in one way and some in the other, and the result is a confusion much to be deplored, but for which it is difficult to suggest any remedy, so long at least as the householder and not the enumerator is responsible for the correct filling up of the schedule.

TABLE I.—*Sections arranged in order of apparent poverty of heads of families (1891).*

SECTIONS.	PERCENTAGE OF CROWDING.		SECTIONS.	PERCENTAGE OF CROWDING.	
	All Families.	Exclud- ing Em- ployers.		All Families.	Exclud- ing Em- ployers.
Costers and street-sellers	65	69	Millers, &c.	34	39½
Coal-porters	64	65	Plumbers	34	39
Dock-labourers	62½	63	Tobacco workers	33	42
General labourers	58½	59½	India-rubber, &c.	33	39½
Carmen	56	58	Musical instruments, &c.	32½	37
Bricklayers	53½	55	Carpenters and joiners...	31½	33
Municipal labour, &c. ...	53	54½	Hatters	30½	36½
Plasterers & paperhangers	51	53	Seamen	30½	33
Paper manufactures ...	49	55	Chemicals	29½	36
Painters and glaziers ...	49	52½	Dyers and cleaners	28½	37
Hemp, jute, and fibre ...	47	52½	Soap, candles, and glue	28½	34
Masons	45½	49	Railway service	28	28
Cab and omnibus service	45½	48	Engineering, &c.	27½	29
Cabinet makers, &c.	45	52	Silk and fancy textiles...	27	33
Boot and shoe-makers...	45	52	Bakers and confectioners	26½	38
Woollens and carpets ...	45	51½	Surgical, &c., instruments	26	30
Warehousemen, &c.	45	46	Police, &c.	26	26
Gasworks service	44	44½	Dock and wharf service	25½	27½
Glass and earthenware...	43	48	Dress-makers, &c.	24½	29½
Brass, copper, tin, lead, &c.	42½	47	Butchers & fishmongers	23½	34
Machinists	42½	44	Gardeners, &c.	23½	26
Railway labour	42	43	Jewellers, &c.	22½	28
Blacksmiths	41½	45	Milk-sellers	22	30
Bookbinders	41½	44	Shipwrights, &c.	22	24
Factory labour (undef.)...	41½	42	Watches and clocks	21	28
General shop-keepers ...	40½	47	Art and amusement	19½	23½
Extra service	40½	45	Builders	19	35½
Brush-makers	40½	46	Coal, wood, & corn dealers	18½	32
Tailors	40	47	Stationers	17½	25
Locksmiths, &c.	39½	43½	Grocers, &c.	15	24½
Country labour	38½	44½	Ironmongers, &c.	15	24
Sundry workers in iron and steel.....	38	42	Booksellers, &c.	15	20½
Brewers and mineral water makers	37½	42½	Civil & municipal service	14	15
Carriage building	37	41	Medicine.....	13	20
Leather dressing, &c. ...	36½	43	Army and navy	10½	15
Engine drivers (undef.)...	36½	38	Commercial clerks	10½	11½
Coopers	36	38	Publicans	10	22½
Trimmings, &c.	35½	43	Drapers	10	15½
Shirt-makers and seamstresses	35½	37½	Literature and science ...	7	9½
Lightermen	35	37	Religion	6½	9
Printers	34½	37	Merchants, brokers, &c..	6	13
Saddlery, harness, &c.	34	41	Education	5½	6½
			Lodging & coffee-houses	5	10
			Law	5	9½
			Architects, &c.	4	7

NOTE.—As in previous volumes, the deductions for employers and their families have been made on the assumption that they will live under better conditions than the bulk of those they employ.

Of the eighty thousand general labourers, those who are assistants in skilled trades are better off than the rest, and most of them will be found living in the outer circle, where are situated the factories at which they work. On the whole, the section shows $58\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of crowding, or omitting a few employers (returned, we suppose, as "master labourers"), $59\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This rate rises to 70 per cent. in the inner, but falls to $51\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the outer ring. Of extreme crowding there is 26 per cent.

Next in order of apparent poverty comes the great body of carmen with 56 per cent. of crowded families, or 58 per cent. if employers are omitted. The percentage of crowding is 62 in the inner and 50 in the outer circle, and amongst them there is 27 per cent. of extreme crowding.

These five sections—street-sellers, coal-porters, dock-labourers, general labourers and carmen—together include 88,469 heads of families, or a total of 399,690 persons, of whom no less than 235,281 exist under crowded conditions, while 109,390 are so crowded as to be living three or more persons to a room. Even in the outer circle, where rents are comparatively moderate, over 114,000 of these people are to be found living two or more persons to each room occupied.

After allowing for all possible limitations, these figures indicate an appalling amount of poverty and discomfort among those engaged in these occupations.

The second grade in the comparison we are attempting to make is occupied by a group from the building trades—bricklayers (including scaffolders and labourers), plasterers (including whitewashers) and painters, of whom many are very irregularly employed. To these we have added those engaged in drainage, &c., including scavengers and others employed in the care of the streets. Bricklayers have 55 per cent., municipal labour $54\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., plasterers 53 per cent., and painters $52\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of

crowding, employers being omitted in each case. To this group may be added, as of kindred employment, the masons and their labourers, although they are somewhat better off, showing only 49 per cent. of crowding. In these sections taken together we find 50,842 heads of families (including employers) and a population of 238,229 persons, of whom 120,045 live under crowded conditions, 51,554 being very crowded. In this case 75,000 of the crowded live in the outer circle, where there is least excuse for so unfavourable a condition of life.

Having now dealt with the sections which include the great bulk of the labourers, we pass to manufacture and other employments in which the proportion of those living in crowded homes falls gradually from 50 to less than 5 per cent. This is shown in the summary on the opposite page, in which both employers and employed are included.

Fully one-half of the population (omitting inmates of institutions) show from 30 to 65 per cent. of crowding, and in this half are included by far the greater number of ordinary industrial occupations. Engine and machine makers and those engaged in the manufacture of chemicals or in dyeing and cleaning (all very modern trades) fall just below 30 per cent. Lower rates apply to the professional classes, shop-keepers, commercial clerks, police, and a few old established highly skilled employments, such as silk weaving and watch making. It may be that in these cases there is less apparent crowding because the accommodation sometimes includes the workshop. If employees only are considered, the list of occupations with less than 30 per cent. of crowding would be still further restricted.

The question then arises, who are all these people in every trade who lead so pinched an existence, and why is it that their means are so restricted or their standard of house room so low?

Before any complete answer can be given to these

TABLE II.—*Summary Statement.* (Arranged in order of crowding.)

OCCUPATIONS. [Figures in parentheses indicate proportion of crowding.]	Families.	Popu- lation.	Crowded 2 or more in each room.	Percentage crowded.
Costers and street-sellers (65·2), coal-porters (63·9), dock-labourers (62·5), general labourers (58·5), car- men (56·2).....	88,469	399,690	235,281	65 to 55
Bricklayers (53·7), municipal labour (53·1), plasterers (50·8), painters (48·8), masons (45·7)	50,842	238,229	120,045	55 to 50
Paper (49·0), hemp (46·8), warehouse-men (45·2), wool- lens, &c. (45·0)	23,223	99,945	45,707	50 to 45
Cab and omnibus service (45·7)	32,588	144,237	65,877	45
Cabinet-makers (45·2), boot and shoe-makers (44·9), machinists (42·5), tailors (40·0).....	74,110	333,898	145,685	45 to 40
Glass and earthenware (43·1), brass, tin, lead, &c. (42·7), factory labour undefined (41·7), book-binders (41·3), extra service (40·5), brush-makers (40·3).....	61,993	229,991	94,513	do.
Gasworks service (43·9), railway labour (42·1), black- smiths (41·6), general shop-keepers (40·3), lock- smiths (39·6).....	25,743	120,045	49,699	do.
Iron and steel-workers (38·2), carriage building (36·8), leather dressing, &c. (36·7), coopers (35·9), saddlers (34·2), plumbers (33·9), tobacco workers (33·0), india-rubber, &c. (32·9), musical instruments and toys (32·4), carpenters (31·5)	66,700	312,631	106,122	40 to 30
Country labour (38·7), brewers and mineral water makers (37·6), engine drivers, &c., undef. (36·7), shirt-makers, &c. (35·6), trimmings, &c. (35·5), lightermen (35·0), printers (34·3), millers (34·1), hatters (30·5), seamen (30·6)	56,796	242,641	84,993	do.
Chemicals (29·3), soap, candles, &c. (28·7), dyers and cleaners (28·5), engineering (27·5), silk (26·9), sur- gical, &c., instruments (26·1), dressmakers, &c., (24·3), jewellers, &c. (22·4), shipwrights (22·1), watches and clocks (21·0)	50,460	203,793	52,258	30 to 20
Railway service (27·8), bakers, &c. (26·3), police (25·9), dock service (25·3), gardeners (23·6), butchers and fishmongers (23·4), milk-sellers (22·2)	65,914	310,576	78,153	do.
Art and amusement (19·3), civil and municipal service (13·8), medicine (12·6), army and navy (10·4), litera- ture (7·0), religion (6·3), education (5·3), law (5·2)...	60,040	270,793	30,190	{ 20 and under
Builders (19·1), clerks (10·6), merchants (6·1), archi- tects (4·0)	64,566	308,582	31,318	do.
Corn, &c., dealers (18·5), stationers (17·3), iron- mongers, &c. (15·3), grocers, &c. (15·2), booksellers (14·9), drapers (9·9), publicans (9·9), lodging-house keepers (4·9)	59,161	294,248	36,399	do.
Total.....	780,665	3,509,299	1,176,340	33
Domestic service *	19,224	70,453		
Pensioners, means, institutions and servants in charge	126,877	631,991		
Total of families and population.....	926,766	4,211,743		

* Includes only those occupied in service who have homes of their own; the others are enumerated with the families they serve.

questions it will be necessary to sum up and bring to a point much of the information gathered together in the preceding volumes of this work. As a first step, we may carry forward our comparisons into earnings and into the relation between standard of earnings and standard of life.

CHAPTER II.

CROWDING AND EARNINGS.

POVERTY (TESTED BY CROWDING) COMPARED WITH EARNINGS.

OUR attempt to connect the evidence as to poverty based upon crowding with that obtained as to remuneration in each trade, has met with only partial success. The obstacles are great. Of these the first is the difficulty of making in most trades any list of employees and their wages which represents fairly the whole body of those occupied; and the second is that of estimating the *annual* value of more or less irregular employment.

The plan adopted has been to obtain from as many employers as possible a detailed statement of actual amounts earned by those whom they employ, either in one average week; or in two different weeks, one chosen when trade is active, the other when trade is slack. Taken together these returns give average earnings for an average number—not necessarily or probably the true average for the year, but an approximation to it; and similarly the busy and slack weeks when compared give a measure—but not a strictly accurate measure—of irregularity of employment indicated by the numbers working and the amounts earned at different times. It is evident that nothing short of particulars which should include the whole working population for every week in the year, could give completely correct results, and that such details would be unattainable even by a public inquiry. As a response to an unauthorised private inquirer the amount of information obtained has been, I venture to say, remarkable; and is a strong proof of good-will on the part of employers and employed and of the lively interest taken

in social industrial problems. While admitting the imperfection of the results I very gratefully acknowledge the assistance I have received.

The inexactitude of the relation between poverty and domestic crowding is another difficulty which cannot be ignored, and though I have already referred to this point in the preceding chapter, it is necessary here to lay stress upon it once more. It will be borne in mind that we reckon as living under crowded conditions those whose house accommodation is limited to one room for each two or more persons, and that the number of persons so situated was found to agree very closely with the total accounted as "poor" in the classification of the population given in the "Poverty Series" of this work, namely, those whose earnings were supposed not to exceed 21s a week for a "small" family.* This general agreement in results did not, however, hold good in all districts alike, some being more crowded than poor, and others more poor than crowded. Where rents are high, crowding, as already intimated, is sometimes compatible with good living from every other point of view, while where house accommodation is plentiful the opposite may be true. On the whole we find that this distinction coincides with the inner and outer circles of London.

Dealing with these difficulties as well as we could, we have endeavoured, trade by trade, to put together the data for a comparison between earnings and style of life for the whole population. In some sections we have succeeded fairly; in others not so well. In every trade some provision has to be made to cover irregularity of employment, or to meet the probability of rates of wages lower than are shown in our returns; but these adjustments vary in extent. Allowance had also to be made for reasonable deductions from gross earnings, such, for instance, as

* A "small family" is considered to consist of about four members, and provides the best basis of comparison with the earnings of the head of the family only.

expense of travelling to and from work, cost of tools, or trade-union subscription. In view of these considerations, it is perhaps not surprising if nominal earnings of from 25s to 30s a week still fall within the lines of our measure of poverty.* This, however, can be shown more clearly in detail.

Besides those whose earnings are irregular and uncertain, there are in every trade some who, though claiming that trade as their occupation, yet never work. Whatever be the reason, whether it be old age, or sickness, or idleness, or any other cause, the fact remains that they neither work nor earn, and though perhaps nominally heads of families, are probably supported by wife or children. The inclusion of these men with other heads of families no doubt tends to increase the apparent poverty of the trade. On the other hand, the fact that our wages returns, which include married and single, lodgers as well as householders, are compared with the social condition of heads of families only, will tend somewhat in the opposite direction; for it is fair to suppose that, amongst adults, heads of families have the best and most regular employment.

Turning now to our task, and taking first the building trade with its nine sections, we find on the whole 45 per cent. of crowding, while our returns show only 40 per cent. of earnings under 30s. (See Table III., p. 16.) What, then, is a nominal 30s worth to men employed in these trades, and do our figures fairly represent the whole trade?

That this employment is subject to great fluctuation is well known. Our returns show a difference between busy

* It is to be remembered that the net wages, whatever they may amount to, are not necessarily or even usually the total income if the family is large. To the earnings of the head of the family must be added not only the earnings of children or wife, but also money received from lodgers. They may, however, stand fairly enough as the basis of the comparison here instituted, with the supposed 21s income taken as the "line of poverty" for a small family.

TABLE III.—*Earnings (for one week) in various Employments, compared with conditions as to crowding.*

TRADE SECTIONS.	NUMBERS.		PROPORTIONS.		
	Adult Males employed.	Scheduled.	Wages under 25s.	Crowded (employees only).	Wages under 30s.
			per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
Building trades	*97,873	5,066	10½	45	40
Cabinet makers, &c.	29,515	591	14	52	30
Carriage building	7,348	685	34	41	51
Coopers	2,978	367	8	38	28½
Shipwrights, &c.	1,813	140	18½	24	25
Sundry workers in iron and steel	36,702	13,203	32	36	46
Brass, copper, tin, lead, &c.....	11,130	1,402	24½	49½	43½
Jewellers, &c.	4,748	412	3½	28	16½
Watches and clocks	2,143	147	20	28	36
Surgical, &c., instruments	5,184	830	10	30	25
Musical instruments and toys ...	5,885	308	17	37	30
Glass and earthenware	2,973	743	18	48	32
Chemicals	2,375	403	26½	32	46½
Soap, candles, glue, &c.	1,149	1,276	33	31	57½
Leather dressing, &c.	8,281	665	27	39	44
Saddlery, harness, &c.	2,440	207	9	42	32½
Brush-makers	2,229	367	14	39	22
Printers	25,480	2,164	14½	37	25½
Book-binders	4,621	781	16½	44	28
Paper manufactures	2,459	270	19	34	42
Stationers	3,301	263	20	25	38
Booksellers, &c.	3,468	399	32½	21	56½
Silk and woollen goods.....	2,388	90	38	30	56
Dyers and cleaners	750	114	36	37	59½
Hemp, jute, and fibre	1,285	134	46½	51	71½
India-rubber, &c.	1,317	518	34	39½	58½
Hatters.....	2,228	208	14½	36	32½
Frimmings, &c.	4,062	170	25½	43	50
Drapers, &c.	10,873	911	38	15½	53½
Millers, &c.	1,377	909	46½	39½	72½
Brewers	2,909	1,223	34	40	76
Mineral water makers	559	258	56½	51½	75
Bakers and confectioners	10,471	431	28	46½	58
Milksellers	4,503	179	78	30	90½
Butchers and fishmongers	14,873	223	38	34	60
Grocers, &c.	11,542	770	33	39	64½
Cab and omnibus service	33,961	1,979	4	48	26½
Carmen	33,519	2,311	60	58	79½
Coal-porters.....	4,369	958	16	65	28
Gasworks service	5,529	4,976	19	44½	34½
Warehousemen and messengers	28,733	976	39½	46½	66
General labourers	70,035	2,335	43	59½	78
Engine drivers and artisans (undefined)	13,626	690	16	39½	30

* Omitting architects.

and slack weeks of 50 per cent. in numbers employed, as well as 7 per cent. in average amounts earned by those who are still working. Wages, maintained at a high level, are paid by the hour, and men who work by the job have frequent intervals of idleness. The consequent irregularity in earnings is indicated to some extent in the returns from employers. If a man, his job being finished, knocks off work in the middle of a week, the fact is reflected in the money he earns for that week, and would in this way correctly affect the average figure. It might indeed happen that a man leaving one employer (on a Wednesday, for instance), filled up his week elsewhere, in which case our returns would show too little instead of too much; but on the other hand whole weeks may be lost between one piece of work and the next, especially in winter.

Comparing actual earnings with full pay for forty-eight hours' work in the week, the loss through irregularity of employment is estimated as being equal to the difference between 38s and 31s 6d, or 28s and 23s 3d (see Vol. I., "Industry," p. 129), or from 6s 6d to 4s 9d a week. This difference is reduced to from 4s 3d to 2s 3d if the comparison is made with the already modified figures of our returns.* Travelling expenses, too, are an almost constant charge. Men in the building trades must follow the work, and cannot continually move their homes. Some high estimates are given of the cost of travelling (see Vol. I., "Industry," p. 125), and it is probable that not less than 1s a week on the average is absorbed in this way. If to these deductions we add the trade-union subscription, it would seem not unreasonable to reduce the estimated wage figures by nearly 5s a week in order to state fairly the net cash income available for

* The extent to which unavoidable irregularity of work is aggravated by the irregular conduct of the worker, or by a lack of effort on his part to find work, cannot be gauged, but our estimates are supposed to represent the actual loss of time of men of good character and average energy.

personal expenditure. This would make the proportion of crowding coincide with the proportion of those whose real earnings are something less than 25s. But even so, we are still 4s above the poverty standard of 21s, and have to find the explanation (if the standard be still accepted) either in money which never reaches the home, but is spent in drink or other forms of generosity or extravagance, or in the probability that our sample represents a more or less picked body of men.

These explanations combined may perhaps sufficiently account for the discrepancy between the two classifications, neither of which, as we have already said, can pretend to be more than a rough approximation to the truth. It must be remembered that rates of wages in these trades are jealously guarded by trade-union action, and amongst capable workmen the proportion of unionists is large. Competent men, whether unionists or not, obtain the pick of the work and earn good wages. It is the less capable of the labourers, so far as they are nevertheless included with the skilled men in the total numbers, who, with the idle, the drunken, and the sick, pull down a large proportion of the earnings to a level which agrees with the apparently impoverished condition in which so many are living.

As a general rule, taking all occupations together, the line of crowding coincides with the proportion of workers whose wages are below 25s. Printing and book-binding form the only other important group of trades in which so high a rate as 30s of nominal earnings must be taken for this comparison, and it is certainly noteworthy that in these, as in the building trades, wages have been raised and hours shortened to a remarkable extent by trade-union action.

Among printers we find that 37 per cent. of heads of families are ostensibly poor, while of the 2164 men for whom we have wages returns, only 25 per cent. appear as earning less than 30s a week. Work in this trade is increasingly difficult to obtain, and the payment of out-of-work benefit

is seriously depleting the Societies' funds. Here trade union action has undoubtedly overshot its mark, with the result of simultaneously attracting labour to London and driving trade away. Some of the men have no work, many have only part work, while all who are employed are heavily taxed to pay out-of-work benefits and to sustain the strength of the organization by which wages are maintained at so high a level.

The book-binding trade shows no better results ; 44 per cent. of those employed live under crowded conditions, as compared to 28 per cent. earning less than 30s. This industry, like the building trade, is subject to very great seasonal irregularity, amounting, according to our returns, to $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in numbers and $21\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in money earned, or 35 per cent. combined. The Board of Trade returns of 1886 show the still greater diminution of 17 per cent. in numbers and 37 per cent. in money, or $47\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. combined. These percentages would be higher still if men only were included, as most of the boys, and more women in proportion than men, are kept employed in slack times.

In this trade, too, the unions have been remarkably successful in raising rates of wages, stopping overtime, and reducing the regular working hours, and the result, we are informed, is that, whether regularly or irregularly employed, the men receive on the average less money than formerly.

With hatters, also a highly organized body, we find the same comparison holds, that namely of a nominal 30s wage with the line of poverty ; but here the issue is confused by the inclusion of the ill-organized cap makers of East London, whose comparatively low and irregular earnings affect the average.

Elsewhere, as a rule, the proportion of those who are apparently poor tallies with the number whose earnings are below 25s. For instance, in the metal trades, amongst engineers and workers in iron and steel, we find 32 per cent. whose nominal earnings are below 25s compared

with 36 per cent. living under crowded conditions. From these trades we have returns which cover thirteen thousand out of the census total of 36,000 employees—a very sufficient basis.

As a contrast to this, amongst workers in “other metals,”* *i.e.* other than iron and steel, we find 50 per cent. of crowding, whereas our returns of wages show only 25 per cent. earning less than 25s. The main explanation of this large discrepancy lies in the character of the trade, which includes many employers in a very small way of business whose workmen are quite outside the range of our wages statistics and undoubtedly work under less favourable conditions than the employees of larger firms. There are also a considerable number who work on their own account—employing no one—whose earnings are precarious. Excessive expenditure on drink, due, it seems, to dry throats caused by the character of the work, is said to prevail in these trades, and may partly explain the discrepancy.

In the watch and clock trades again, the proportion of crowded compares fairly well with those who earn less than 25s, but the number to whom our information extends is too small for any very safe comparison to be made.

In those trades which we have designated as “sundry manufactures”† we find throughout a relation more or less exact subsisting between the proportion who are crowded and the proportion returned as earning less than 25s a week. As to those engaged in the making of soap and candles, for instance, our statistics are exceptionally complete, including actually more men than the census allots to these trades, and we find the proportion of crowded to be 31 cent., and of those earning less than 25s, 33 per cent. The factories are situated in the outskirts of London, and the men are thus afforded the great economic

* Brass, copper, tin, lead, zinc, &c.

† Chemicals, soap and candles, leather dressing, saddlery, brushes, &c.

advantage of living near their factory in a neighbourhood where rents are low. The work is also fairly regular. Our returns agree with those of the Board of Trade in making the difference between busy and slack times only about 10 per cent. in numbers and 10 per cent. in amount earned. Part of the reduction due to irregularity would show itself in our figures, and taking everything into account the proportion of crowded people seems rather higher than it should be in this trade.

In the manufacture of chemicals, paint, &c., we require to combine our figures with those of the Board of Trade* as representing different portions of the group; we then find $26\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. earning less than 25s as against 32 per cent. of crowded. These figures are compounded of two distinct elements; for the men in the white lead and paint works are less well paid, more irregularly employed and more liable to sickness than those engaged in the manufacture of chemicals and some other cognate industries. It is possible that we have not compounded these elements in due proportion.†

Dyers and cleaners show 37 per cent. of crowding as compared to 36 per cent. earning less than 25s, and india-rubber and floorcloth workers 39 per cent. of crowding compared to 34 per cent. below 25s. Silks, fancy textiles, woollens, &c., taken together have 30 per cent. of crowding compared to 38 per cent. below 25s; rope and mat-makers, 51 per cent. of crowding with 46 per cent. of earnings under 25s. All these trades suffer the ordinary degree of irregularity of employment, and may be supposed to have each their share of men who, from one cause or another, are out of work. The effect of all this on real average earnings may be sufficient, when combined with

* Our returns were mostly from chemical works, and those of the Board of Trade mostly from paint and white lead works.

† This difficulty applies more or less throughout, as each of our sections, and many even of the census headings, include a number of distinct trades to which varying conditions apply.

necessary deductions for trade expenses, to reduce the nominal 25s of our returns to about the same level as the 21s of our former classification.

With millers, sugar-refiners, brewers and mineral-water makers, a comparison of the same character may be made :

Millers and sugar-refiners	39½%	crowded	and	46½%	earning	under	25s.
Brewers	40 %	"		34 %	"	"	"
Mineral-water makers	51½%	"		56½%	"	"	"

That there are comparatively so few crowded amongst the millers, &c., is no doubt due to a large number of those returned to us as employed in these trades passing in the census as "general labourers."

Butchers show 38 per cent. of crowded compared to 34 per cent. earning less than 25s, and grocers, &c., 39 per cent., compared to 33 per cent below 25s. Thus on the whole the correspondence between crowding and poverty appears to be fairly established.

But to this general rule there are some exceptions to be noted in addition to those already mentioned. In the manufacture of glass and earthenware 48 per cent. of the employees are living in apparent poverty, when, according to our returns (which include one-fourth of the whole number of adult males employed), only 32 per cent. earn less than 30s, and only 18 per cent. less than 25s. The difference in numbers employed between slack and busy weeks is very slight in these trades, and the variation noticeable in earnings—20 to 25 per cent. comparing busy and slack times—is supposed to be taken into account in the average on which our wages statistics are based. It may be that our returns are in some way not fairly representative, but there does not seem to be any large class, receiving a lower scale of remuneration, unrepresented by our figures. On the whole I am inclined in this case to doubt the correctness of the returns made to us—at any rate I am unable to find any other explanation of this discrepancy.

The trades connected with leather and furs show 39 per cent. of apparent poverty as compared to only 27 per cent. returned as earning less than 25*s*, but in this group are included a great many minor industries, some of them very ill-paid, from which it is not possible to obtain lists of wages. There is also some sub-contract work which makes it impossible for the manufacturers to give complete wages returns, so that our sample is certainly inadequate. Beyond this it is to be remembered that those employed in these trades live mostly in crowded districts where rents are high, and also that amongst them old-fashioned habits as to drink prevail to a great extent.

Surgical, scientific and musical instrument makers show 30 to 34 per cent. of crowding with, according to our returns, only 25 to 30 per cent. who earn less than 30*s*. With these main trades are grouped many minor ones, such as the making of fishing-tackle, magic-lanterns, games, toys and tobacco-pipes, and a good deal of the manufacture is done under garret masters with very irregular conditions of work, and in some cases with extremely low pay—all outside the range of our wages returns. Jewellers, too, show as much as 28 per cent. of crowding with only 16 per cent. whose wages are below 30*s*. In this case not only is there a mass of cheap work done for garret masters, but the foreigners who do it live in Central London under conditions of crowding which may not always be connected with any great degree of poverty.

Brush-making again is a most uncertain and irregular employment. The return from one firm shows no less than 50 per cent. reduction in numbers employed, as well as fully 30 per cent. in amounts earned per head, comparing a slack and a busy week. In this trade we find 39 per cent. who are living under crowded conditions, whereas our wages returns show only 32 per cent. whose earnings are under 30*s*. So far as this discrepancy is not accounted for by irregularity of work and consequent loss of time, it is

probably due to the considerable number of men who are employed in small workshops, or who work at home on their own account. We have no particulars of the wages or earnings of these men, but they are undoubtedly low.

Coachmen, cabmen and omnibus men are another exception. So far as we are able to test them we find only 26 per cent. with nominal earnings of less than 30s, whereas there are 45 per cent. living under conditions of crowding. The families of coachmen and cabmen often live, rather tightly packed, in rooms over stables, and are not on that account necessarily to be accounted poor. In these trades, on the other hand, are to be found large numbers of hangers on, who take a job when it offers, pick up a living as they can, and evade investigation.

Carmen are in this respect a great contrast to cabmen, &c. Their pay though low can be relied on; amongst them, consequently, we find 58 per cent. of crowded in close agreement with 60 per cent. earning less than 25s.

For dock or general labourers, coal-porters and gas-workers, it is difficult to make any very satisfactory comparison between earnings and style of life. Among dock-labourers who earn from an average income of 8s or less to one of 25s or 30s a week, we find 62 per cent. of crowded families. Such of the general labourers as we have returns from, show 43 per cent. under 25s, whereas there is 60 per cent. of crowding, but those to whom our returns apply are the more regularly employed. A better comparison can be made as to warehousemen and messengers, amongst whom we find 46 per cent. of crowding against 39 per cent. of earnings below 25s. Gas-workers show 44 per cent. of crowding with only 19 per cent. of earnings under 25s, or 33 per cent. under 30s, a result which reflects very clearly the effect of seasonal irregularity in this trade; and, finally, with coal-porters the contrast between earnings when at work and result in comfort of life is at its greatest, as we find no less than 65 per cent.

living under crowded conditions while only 16 per cent. are returned as earning less than 25s, and only 28 per cent. less than 30s per week. Or, looking at the other end of the scale, we find that only 12 per cent. of these men and their families are so well off as to live with less than one person to each room or able to occupy more than four rooms in all, although no less than 22 per cent. appear to earn fully 50s a week. Coal-porters undoubtedly earn very high wages when at work, but do not for the most part average their expenditure in good and bad weeks; they rather spend their money as soon as made, much of it undoubtedly going in drink.

On the whole, reviewing all the facts before us, it seems probable that the line of poverty in London, if we are to accept crowding as a test, lies a little above the figure formerly laid down. In proof of this, we may turn to the section of municipal employment, for which we have remarkably full statistics collected in the year of the 1891 census by one of the vestries. The men have regular employment, and their homes are distributed in all parts of London. We find that the proportion living under crowded conditions agrees with the percentage of those whose wages are below 22s or 23s, which would be midway between 21s and 25s.

It must be admitted, however, that the relationship between the statistics of remuneration and those of poverty as tested by crowding is not very close. The discrepancies may be explained and bridged over, but they remain in many ways more remarkable than the agreement which underlies them. One thing is abundantly evident, that the full amount of nominal wages does not, as a rule, reach the home. Some proportion is either not received at all or else is dissipated in some way in a sufficient number of cases to materially affect the averages. Between these two great causes of domestic poverty—irregularity of earnings and

irregularity of conduct, both of which act in the same direction—it is not possible to divide very exactly the responsibility for impoverished homes. According to the bent of one's mind or the mood of the moment, greater importance is attached to this cause or that, and the onlooker remembers the uncertainties of work or dwells upon the recklessness of expenditure, and especially of expenditure in drink. Moreover, these causes are complicated by interaction. A man is apt to drink when he is idle, as well as to lose his work because of intemperate habits.

Between the economic position of families, more or less uniform in size and known to be earning about the same money, a valuable comparison might be made. If made, it would undoubtedly show an amazing divergence, rapidly increasing as time went on and self-restraint and good management showed their cumulative effect. Some families can never save on any income, while others succeed in doing so, however limited may be their means. Moreover, what is true of savings is also true of all that is obtained for money spent; the decency and comfort of the home, the quality of the food eaten, and the perfection or imperfection of the clothes worn, are by no means necessarily in proportion to amount earned. On all these points successful results are possible even with very straitened means if the man is loyal and the woman prudent, while they are unattainable without these virtues, even when the earnings are much larger; and it may be noticed that wise spending and wise saving go usually hand-in-hand.

It is not my object now to discuss the moral bearings of these questions. I merely point them out in order to account in part for the divergency between earnings and what is shown for them on the average in many trades. Dealing with broad averages, we must accept, amongst other conditions, a broad average view of human nature, and take men and women as they are, not refusing to

account a family poor, although the cause of poverty may be the folly of the woman or the madness of the man, any more than if it be phthisis or typhoid fever.

But when all is said that can be said in this direction, we have still to turn to the other explanation and to admit that, owing to the irregularity of industrial life, a considerable part of the nominal earnings in very many trades is not received at all, and that therefore statistics based on rates of wages may be very delusive.

Moreover, when we bring the whole population under review we cannot but find many victims of poverty—the sick, the maimed, the unlucky, the foolish, the stupid, the lazy or the vicious, as well as old persons and widows—who do not show at all in ordinary industrial statistics, but who nevertheless find their places in the census amongst the “occupied,” and drag down the average condition of the population accredited to the trades to which they claim to belong.

CHAPTER III.

BORN IN OR OUT OF LONDON AND LIVING IN THE INNER OR OUTER CIRCLE.

(1) BORN IN OR OUT OF LONDON.

On the whole 50·2 per cent. of the heads of families are returned as having been born in London, and an examination of the table given on the next page shows that the middle position is exactly occupied by grocers. Civil servants, commercial clerks, engine and machine makers, bricklayers, publicans, and those engaged upon art or in providing amusements, lie close to the average line on either hand, and general labourers are very little above it, there being 52 per cent. of them born in London.

Passing to the extremes, the highest proportion of born Londoners is found amongst the heads of families engaged in bookbinding; indeed the most essentially London occupations are those connected with paper and print. In bookbinding the proportion born in London actually reaches 81 per cent., in paper manufacture (*i.e.* envelope making, &c.) it is 78 per cent.; amongst stationers 70 per cent.; and with printers 66 per cent. The ancient industry of brush-making follows with 76 per cent., whilst lightermen who, protected by privileges handed down from father to son, have plied their trade upon the Thames from time immemorial, have 75 per cent. of London born. Those engaged in making musical instruments and toys show 71 per cent., and so do the manufacturers of glass and earthenware. With coopers, another ancient industry, the percentage is 69, and about the same rate applies to cabinet makers and the workers in sundry

TABLE IV.—*Showing for each section the proportion of heads of families born in London, as compared to those living in the Inner Ring or under crowded conditions.*

SECTION.	Born in London	Living in Inner Circle.	Crowd ed.	SECTION.	Born in London.	Living in Inner Circle.	Crowd ed.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.		Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Bookbinders	81	58	41	General labourers	52	37	58½
Paper manufactures	78	60	49	Dock and wharf service	52	42	25
Brushmakers	76	57	40	Extra service	51½	43	40½
Lightermen	75	52	35	Publicans	51	47	10
Glass & earthenware	71	52	47	Commercial clerks	51	19	10½
Musical instruments and toys	71	30	32	Grocers	50	34	15½
Stationers	70	35½	17	Engive drivers, &c. (undef.)	49	36	37
Coopers	69	54	36	Civil and municipal service	49½	24	14
Trimming, &c. ...	69	56	36	Bricklayers	49	31	54
General shopkeepers	68	58	40	Art and amusement	49	30	19
Cabinet makers ...	68	56	45	Engineering, &c. ...	49	28	27
Brass, copper, &c. ...	68	49	43	Dressmaking, &c. ...	49	40	24
Silk & fancy textiles	68	55	27	Municipal labour ...	48	36	53
Woollens & carpets	68	59	45	Country labour ...	47	24	39
Hemp, jute, fibre ...	67	62	47	Blacksmiths	47	35	42
Printers	66	48	34	Masons	46	33	46
Costers, &c.	66	63	65	Millers, &c.	45	46	34½
Dock-labourers	66	65	62½	Builders	44	24	19
Jewellers, &c.	65	39	22	Carriage building ..	44	35	37
Plasterers, &c.	65	23	51	Gasworks service ...	43	25	44
Painters and glaziers	65	31	49	Unoccupied	43	28	14
India-rubber, &c. ...	63	46	33	Seamen	42	34	30½
Soap, candles, & glue	63	39	29	Saddlery, &c.	42	44	34
Machinists	62	42	43	Cab and omnibus service	42	34	46
Dyers & cleaners ...	62	31	28	Household service	41	47	38½
Leather dressing, &c.	62	63	29	Merchants, &c. ...	41	18	6
Plumbers	62	28	36	Carpenters & joiners	41	28	31
Locksmiths, &c. ...	62	35	40	Architects, &c.	40	15	4
Coal-porters	61	34	64	Bakers and confectioners	40	39	26
Shipwrights, &c. ...	60	37	22	Drapers, &c.	40	26	10
Chemicals	60	28	29	Brewers & mineral-water makers ...	39	57	37½
Surgical, &c., instruments	59	31	26	Milksellers	37	31	22½
Booksellers, &c. ...	58	33	15	Medicine	37	35	12½
Sundry workers in iron and steel ...	57	38	38	Tailors	37	64	40
Hatters	57	56	30	Literature & science Education	35	20	7
Carmen	57	50	56	Lodging and coffee-house keepers ...	34	47	5
Warehousemen and messengers	57	57	45	Railway service ...	31	19	28
Butchers, &c.	56	38	23½	Religion	27	28.	6
Shirtmakers, &c. ...	56	47	36	Railway labour ...	22	16	42
Ironmongers, &c. ...	55	34	15	Gardeners, &c. ...	22	6	23½
Law	54	18	5	Police	17	43	26
Factory Labour (undef.)	53	36	41½	Army and navy ...	12	22	10½
Tobacco workers ...	53	61	33	General average	50	37	31½
Watches and clocks	53	40	21				
Boot & shoe makers	52	55	45				
Coal, wood, & corn dealers, &c.	52	33	18½				

metals (a mass of small industries), to fancy weaving, mat and rope making, the manufacture of umbrellas, artificial flowers and trimmings, and to jewellers. Amongst costermongers and the keepers of small general shops the rate is 66 to 68 per cent.; with dock-labourers it is 66 per cent., and with painters 65 per cent. Such, therefore, are the most characteristic employments of born Londoners.

Of all these only costermongers and dock-labourers are exceptionally poor, but the average of crowding is high, being about 43 per cent. in these trades taken together. It is to be observed that the manufacturing industries included in this group are, with the exception of glass and earthenware, usually conducted on a small scale, and several are rather declining trades, or are the subjects of cheap sweated labour. In London industries, the born Londoner does not seem to have the better position.

At the opposite extreme (omitting soldiers, who are but birds of passage), we find the police with only 17 per cent. of heads of families London born, and next to them gardeners and railway labourers with 22 per cent., and railway servants, of whom the proportion is 31 per cent. Then come lodging-house keepers with 34 per cent., teachers with 35 per cent., tailors (affected by Jewish immigration) 37 per cent., milk-sellers 37 per cent., brewers' men 39 per cent., bakers 40 per cent., drapers 40 per cent., and cabmen, &c., 42 per cent. All these trades draw their labour from the provinces, with the exception of tailors and bakers, who are largely foreigners. In this group the average percentage of crowding is 34, but if we exclude tailors and cabmen, who are subject to special influences which induce crowding—the tailors, on account of the presence amongst them of many poor Jews, and the cabmen and coachmen owing to living over the stables—the average would be reduced to 17 per cent; showing again that in London the new comers on the whole fare much better than the old residents.

(2) LIVING IN THE INNER OR OUTER CIRCLE.*

Turning now to dwellers in the inner or outer circle, we find for all London 38 per cent. of families living in the inner, and 62 per cent. in the outer districts. The mean position in this case is occupied by bakers, butchers, and fishmongers, who, as they cater for local wants, are found fairly evenly distributed throughout London. The same thing is true of general labourers, probably for a similar reason. The extreme instances of centralization are dock labourers (with dock *service* the opposite is true), tailors, leather-dressers, fur-pullers, &c., and costermongers, all of whom have 63 to 65 per cent. of their number dwelling in the inner circle. At the other end of the scale (not to mention gardeners, whose case is obvious) we find professional men and commercial clerks with only 15 to 20 per cent. living in the inner, and 80 to 85 per cent. in the outer districts.

If we combine these comparisons, we find that there is a not unnatural numerical connection between those who have been born in London, those who live in the inner metropolitan circle, and those who are crowded in their homes. Thus the sections which (as to their heads of families) have :—

Per cent.		Per cent.			Per cent.
65 to 81	born in London	show	$48\frac{1}{2}$	living in the inner circle and	43 crowded.
55 „ 63	„ „		$41\frac{1}{2}$	„ „	38 „
45 „ 54	„ „		34	„ „	$31\frac{1}{2}$ „
37 „ 44	„ „		35	„ „	$29\frac{1}{2}$ „
Below 37	„ „		22	„ „	18 „

The greater the proportion of born Londoners, the greater also the proportion of those living in the central districts of London and the larger the number, too, of those whose homes are crowded. A two-fold influence connects

* A list of the districts comprised in the inner and outer circle of London respectively is given in Vol. I., p. 26.

crowding with the inner circle; for not only does poverty cause most crowding where accommodation is comparatively difficult to obtain and rents high; but much of the worst-paid work demands that those who labour at it shall live in proximity to the markets, warehouses and docks, which, lining the banks of the Thames, are situated in the very midst of London.

That the proportion of born Londoners is greatest amongst the inhabitants of the inner circle has also a double bearing, lending support to two theories which have been put forward in a previous volume, the one that the London-born man deteriorates and sinks into poverty, elbowed out by the vigorous and successful immigrant, the other that this tendency has a centripetal aspect, with the result that men or generations of men in London, gravitate inwards and downwards, as if caught in a pit, out of which escape is difficult.

The exceptions to this general rule, which connects birth in London with crowded homes, and with residence in its inward parts, are worth noting. Trades in which neither crowding nor living in the inner circle are found to bear any relation to the proportion of born Londoners are mainly those carried on in small retail local shops—stationers, book-sellers, jewellers, ironmongers and drapers—and the same thing is true of builders. In all these trades success rests largely on establishment for many years—or “good-will” as it is called—an advantage handed down from father to son, or to be obtained only by those who, as old residents, are known and trusted by their neighbours. Thus these trades tend to fall into the hands of Londoners. On the other hand, the local character of these occupations, from which they derive their strength, causes them to be found in all parts of London, including the newer residential districts to which removal is made as needed. Finally, whether successful or unsuccessful, the necessity of having good business premises precludes much domestic crowding.

Dyers and cleaners, chemical workers and the makers of scientific instruments, form another group in which also we find a very considerable proportion of Londoners who live in the outer circle and are not much crowded. These are all trades of recent development which, establishing their factories in the outskirts, draw readily from the London market the kind of labour they require—labour which demands intelligence and adaptability, rather than any special skill or strength.

Londoners also form a large proportion of architects, lawyers, civil servants, merchants and commercial clerks, amongst whom there is very little crowding. These men, whose working hours are not long, and rarely begin before 9 or half-past, are able to live at a distance, and even the poorest of them have a standard of home life which demands sufficient house-room.

Tailors provide an exception of a different kind. Of these a very large proportion live in the inner circle, and amongst them there is a good deal of crowding, but only a small proportion—37 per cent. of heads of families so employed—are London born. This anomalous result is plainly due to the hold which Jewish immigrants have obtained in this trade.

Instances in which a high degree of crowding accompanies residence in the outer circle, but in which there are only a small proportion of Londoners, may be found in cab and omnibus service, gas-works and railway labour. In the two last of these trades we find the worst-paid sections of country immigrants. Finally we have a few industries in which considerable numbers live in the inner circle, although those engaged are neither largely London born nor much crowded. This is true of brewers, coffee-house keepers and policemen. The great London breweries, being very old-established, and indifferent, it would seem, to considerations of rent, are centrally situated. Their employees live near their work, often in houses owned by

the brewery. Policemen, who are usually recruited from the Provinces, are naturally most wanted where most people congregate, and must live reasonably near their beat; and finally, coffee-house keepers find their best opportunity in crowded districts, but must themselves occupy comparatively spacious premises. It seems that they come mostly from the Provinces, recruited, perhaps, from the class of domestic servants; this, however, does not apply to publicans, of whom a normal proportion are London born.

If these exceptions (comprising twenty out of eighty-six sections) be deducted—and to many of them the general principle we are considering is manifestly inapplicable—the rule as regards the rest stands out with still greater distinctness. Thus for 66 out of 86 sections we have the following results:—

Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.
65 to 81	born in London	show 49	living in the inner circle	and 44½ crowded.
55	„ 65	„	46½	„ „ 41½
45	„ 55	„	37½	„ „ 38½
37	„ 45	„	33	„ „ 27½
Below 37	„	„	17½	„ „ 12½

In all these sections a connection is shown between the proportion of heads of families born in London, and residence in the inner circle or crowded homes—one or both—and the fact that it is often one rather than both, seems to show that there is an entirely independent connection between the first and each of the other two conditions. That is, that amongst Londoners there is a tendency to have crowded homes as well as to live in the inner districts, and not at all necessarily the one because of the other.

Among other reasons, it is very probable that the London-born man becomes accustomed to crowding, and feels the need of air and space less than country-bred people.

CHAPTER IV.

SIZE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE CENSUS FAMILY.

By "size of family" is usually meant the number of children born to any marriage, but the particulars extracted from the census returns for the purposes of this book, give no information of this kind. The householders' schedules, however they might be analysed, would afford no accurate information on this point, although something more might perhaps be done in this direction than has been attempted here. All that has been noted by us is the number of individuals included in each schedule, and whether they are occupied or unoccupied; except that domestic servants have been separately stated.

The head of the family is always counted as occupied. Even if unemployed at the time, a man will be sure to return himself under the occupation which he usually follows, and those whose vocation is not otherwise stated are included amongst the occupied as "living on their own means." The "other occupied" members of each family are such as claim status by employment of some kind; the unoccupied are those who make no such claim. Those who make the claim of occupation are doubtless at work and may be supposed to earn their own living or contribute substantially to the family purse. The usual plan, adopted by children as well as lodgers who board, is to pay a weekly sum to cover the expense of their keep. What more they earn goes for private purposes, for dress or pleasure, &c.

Amongst the wives there are some, and amongst the

single women and girls there are many, who, though they do not admit that they are employed in any trade, and make no claim to industrial status, yet do undertake regular work and are paid for it. In some of the trades in which young women are engaged, it is certain that the actual number of girls employed far exceeds the number returned in the census, and as the missing girls are not to be found under any other heading we can only assume that their occupation, whatever it might be, was not mentioned in the census schedule. Beyond this there is a good deal of remunerated work done by young ladies "for a friend," or under some other genteel and euphemistic subterfuge, by those whose social position would, it is thought, suffer by the open acknowledgment of regular employment. Of these some no doubt really work for their living, but many more work rather for pocket-money.

Wives and young children form the bulk of the unoccupied members of all families, while of the "others occupied" the greater part will be older children who are at work; but it must be remembered that no necessary blood relationship exists between the members of a census family. Boarders, lodgers, visitors, and domestic servants are included. The bond is merely that of the household. Those who live under the same roof or in the same apartments, using probably the same kitchen fire, are accounted as members of one family. Thus, in comparing one group with another as to size of family, it is necessary to take into account the way in which these families are made up. There are usually more members all told when a man is the head than when a woman fills that place. For a woman to be at the head implies in effect that a man is missing, and his absence naturally affects also the number of children, especially young children; consequently we find that the average number per family in women's trades is about one less than in men's employments; and in trades which afford a mixture of male and

female heads the average number is reduced closely in accordance with this rule.

In pursuing our comparison allowance must be made for this fact; it is also necessary to deduct servants, as to include them would swell the totals in some sections considerably more than in others. Deducting servants, and assuming that families of which a woman is the head contain on the average one less than the others, we obtain the statement of comparative size of families given on the next page.

It will be seen from this table that of families with male heads, lodging and coffee-house keepers and publicans stand first with a little over five individuals to each family, and that doctors come last with an average of three-and-a-half only. Speaking generally, the families of labouring men vary from 5 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ members, and those of the professional classes from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ members, but there are some exceptions to this, and there are, as we have seen, many considerations to be taken into account in making the comparison.

As to lodging and coffee-house keepers and publicans, it is to be noticed that the large totals are caused by abnormal numbers of "others occupied." Of these some are lodgers who board, while others, living on the premises, are employed in capacities which do not count as domestic service; consequently some deduction must be made, and the first place as to real size of family (that is in the ordinary sense) undoubtedly passes to builders, who show a high average both of occupied and unoccupied members, and among whom there is no reason to suppose that any excessive proportion of lodgers or visitors would be found.

Builders, with whom the average is 4.99, are followed by plasterers and dock service with 4.88 members per family; then come gasworks service and shipwrights, 4.84; masons and coopers, 4.82; and so on step by step in close gradation to 4.50, or less, for various industrial pursuits.

TABLE V.—*Comparative Size and Constitution of Families with Male Heads.*

SECTION.	Number of families.	Average size.	Constitution.			SECTION.	Number of families.	Average size.	Constitution.		
			Head.	Others occupied.	Unoccupied.				Head.	Others occupied.	Unoccupied.
Lodging and coffee-house keepers	3,881	5.12	1	2.15	1.97	Boot and shoe-makers ..	20,387	4.56	1	1.08	2.48
Publicans	10,234	5.07	1	1.66	2.41	Musical inst. and toys	5,274	4.56	1	.97	2.59
Builders	6,851	4.99	1	1.14	2.85	Ironmongers, &c.....	4,522	4.54	1	1.11	2.43
Plasterers and paper-hangers	5,106	4.88	1	.97	2.91	Soap, candles, glue, &c.	1,003	4.53	1	.99	2.54
Dock and wharf service	1,614	4.88	1	.97	2.91	Dock labourers	9,602	4.52	1	.88	2.64
Gasworks service	4,250	4.84	1	.82	3.02	Printers	17,846	4.52	1	.89	2.63
Shipwrights, &c.	1,696	4.84	1	1.12	2.72	Jewellers, &c.	4,487	4.52	1	1.02	2.50
Masons	4,738	4.82	1	.98	2.84	Municipal labour, water-works, &c.	3,626	4.52	1	.95	2.57
Coopers	2,566	4.82	1	1.13	2.69	General labourers.....	44,517	4.48	1	.84	2.64
Coal-porters	3,243	4.78	1	.79	2.99	Saddlery, harness, &c.	2,303	4.48	1	.97	2.51
Lightermen	4,075	4.77	1	.89	2.88	Drapers, &c.	6,143	4.47	1	1.25	2.22
Butchers & fishmongers	15,781	4.75	1	.98	2.77	Stationers	3,054	4.46	1	1.06	2.40
Blacksmiths	8,164	4.73	1	.94	2.79	Factory labour (undef.)	3,454	4.45	1	.84	2.61
Leather dressing, &c. ...	7,369	4.73	1	1.04	2.69	Tailors	16,960	4.42	1	1.14	2.28
Bricklayers	14,325	4.72	1	.91	2.81	Book-binders	3,473	4.41	1	1.05	2.36
Sundry workers in iron and steel	6,494	4.71	1	.92	2.79	Woollens and carpets ...	913	4.41	1	1.10	2.31
Coal, wood, & corn-dealers	4,220	4.71	1	1.02	2.69	Cab and omnibus service	32,506	4.41	1	.80	2.61
Locksmiths, &c.	3,475	4.70	1	.93	2.77	Hatters	1,928	4.40	1	1.08	2.32
Brass, copper, tin, &c.	9,417	4.68	1	.89	2.79	Merchants, brokers, &c.	13,077	4.40	1	.92	2.48
Plumbers	5,127	4.68	1	.80	2.88	Paper manufactures.....	2,143	4.38	1	1.09	2.29
Cabinet makers, &c. ...	28,484	4.67	1	1.03	2.64	Watches and clocks.....	2,672	4.38	1	1.07	2.31
Milk-sellers..... [def.]	5,014	4.66	1	.97	2.69	Civil and municipal serv.	13,378	4.35	1	.82	2.53
Engine drivers, &c. (un-)	9,599	4.66	1	.92	2.74	Surgical, &c., instruments	4,103	4.33	1	.80	2.53
Bakers and confectioners	9,879	4.66	1	1.17	2.49	Booksellers, &c.	4,064	4.33	1	.97	2.36
India-rubber, &c.	1,267	4.65	1	.98	2.67	Architects, &c.	3,673	4.29	1	.83	2.46
Carpenters and joiners	24,749	4.64	1	.93	2.71	Gardeners, &c.	7,496	4.29	1	.92	2.37
Carmen	25,202	4.64	1	.82	2.82	Trimmings, &c.....	3,592	4.28	1	1.18	2.10
Tobacco workers	3,733	4.63	1	1.07	2.56	Warehousemen, Messengers, &c.	17,646	4.28	1	.89	2.39
Engineering, &c.	15,449	4.62	1	.88	2.74	Seamen.....	3,577	4.25	1	.84	2.41
Glass and earthenware	2,444	4.62	1	.86	2.76	Religion	4,019	4.22	1	1.11	2.11
Brush-makers	2,142	4.62	1	1.16	2.46	Costers and street-sellers	5,050	4.20	1	1.03	2.17
Dyers and cleaners	773	4.62	1	1.17	2.45	Commercial clerks	40,131	4.18	1	.79	2.39
Millers, &c.	1,134	4.62	1	.92	2.70	Unoccupied	34,835	4.17	1	1.24	1.93
Country labour	2,231	4.61	1	.95	2.66	Silk and fancy textiles..	1,266	4.12	1	1.28	1.84
Chemicals	2,094	4.60	1	.94	2.66	Education	4,342	4.11	1	1.15	1.96
Carriage building	6,260	4.60	1	.95	2.65	Law	7,734	4.05	1	.75	2.30
Brewers, &c.	2,779	4.60	1	.88	2.72	Machinists	816	4.03	1	.97	2.06
Painters and glaziers ...	22,934	4.59	1	.90	2.69	Extra service.....	9,934	3.98	1	1.44	1.54
Hemp, jute, fibre	1,181	4.59	1	1.19	2.40	Household service, &c.	13,629	3.90	1	.90	2.00
Railway service.....	15,311	4.59	1	.86	2.73	Literature and science	2,492	3.87	1	.77	2.10
Railway labour	2,563	4.58	1	.93	2.65	Art and amusement	8,461	3.87	1	.90	1.97
Grocers, &c.	14,947	4.58	1	1.06	2.52	Army and navy	3,834	3.71	1	.55	2.16
Police and Prisons	8,561	4.58	1	.62	2.96	Dress-makers, &c.....	1,479	3.57	1	1.21	1.86
General shop-keepers ..	5,784	4.57	1	1.11	2.46	Medicine	7,057	3.51	1	.91	1.60
						Shirtmakers, &c.	724	3.27	1	1.24	1.03

The numbers of the occupied, and still more of the unoccupied, show wider variations than the total; for if the one falls short the other often makes up the deficiency to some extent. Taking the occupied we find, out of eighty-four sections, sixty-nine which show an average per family of not less than .8 or more than 1.1, and a considerable proportion lie between .9 and 1.0. When the figure is over 1.0 it is due either to the inclusion in the family circle of employees residing and working on the premises, as with publicans, bakers, and drapers; or of learners living with their employers, as with tailors and boot-makers, and other trades in which many foreigners are employed. Or it may be owing to the presence of an exceptionally large proportion of middle aged or elderly men amongst the heads of families, and consequently of grown up sons and daughters, as with builders, shipwrights, coopers, and watch-makers; or to the wives working and returning themselves accordingly, as with brush-makers and sack-makers (included under workers in hemp, jute, &c.). The same peculiarity of a high proportion of "others occupied" applies also to those who come under the headings of religion and education, due no doubt to the presence as boarders of pupil teachers and students, who count as "occupied" in the census returns.

The instances where there are less than .8 "other occupied" persons per family are very few—namely, army and navy, police, commercial clerks, and those engaged in literature and science. A low average age for the heads of families is doubtless the explanation in every case, except, perhaps, as to literature and science, where a higher class is touched and an entirely different social condition prevails.

Turning now to unoccupied members, the number varies from 3.02 to 1.60 per family. The latter is quite abnormal, being found only with medical men, the exigencies of whose profession often make it necessary for them to have

an establishment of their own at an age when other men are still living with their parents, or as boarders in lodgings. Within the range of from 2 to 3 per family, the numbers of the unoccupied vary from section to section, and it appears that this element is the best test of size of family in the ordinary sense. The maximum number (3·02) is found with gasworks service, followed closely by the allied trade of coal-porters (2·99). It may be remembered that these two trades gave a very bad result for crowding compared to the supposed earnings, and in the excessive proportion of dependents we have, so far as it goes, an explanation. In both of these industries the number of "other occupied" members is considerably below average. It is probable that the irregularity of employment of the heads of these families militates against the stability of the home. In such homes children early leave the nest, and lodgers are less frequently found than where there can be a more settled and therefore more comfortable domestic life. It may be also that the grimy character of the man's work has its effect. Who, for instance, would by choice lodge at the house of a sweep? The same combination—a large proportion of unoccupied with a small proportion of occupied—is present with policemen, and is undoubtedly due in this case to the low average age of the head of family and probable presence of young children.

From 3 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ unoccupied (and therefore dependent) members is the usual number in all ordinary working-class employments. Where the number is less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ it is usually due to the fact that the wives work, as with silk-weavers (who are also exceptionally old), sack-makers, paper-bag, box, and envelope makers, book-binders, hatters, &c. To these may be added watchmakers and gardeners as of above average age, and lodging-house keepers and publicans—trades which are not well suited for those who have many young children, and to which, on the other hand, men often retire when their children are no longer

young. In the same category are stationers, drapers, and ironmongers, employments in which the young men are rarely heads of families, at any rate in the census meaning of the term, and soldiers and sailors who naturally have but small families. Otherwise those whose families contain less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ unoccupied members belong mainly to the mercantile and professional classes, as under:—

Merchants and brokers	2.48
Architects	2.46
Commercial clerks	2.39
Religion	2.11
Literature	2.10
Education	2.04
Art and amusement	1.96
Medicine	1.60

There are, however, two other instances for which no explanation readily offers. These are warehousemen (2.39), and costermongers (2.17). It may be that coster children go to work very early. It is difficult also to find adequate explanation for so wide a difference as exists in some instances amongst the ordinary working and trading classes—but perhaps we have already pressed these statistics far enough in endeavouring to make them yield their full meaning. There is, at all events, a quite remarkable uniformity in the figures for all ordinary unskilled labour, country labour showing 2.66 unoccupied members per family, railway labour, 2.65, dock and general labour, 2.64, and factory labour, 2.61. Uniformity of result could hardly go further.

At this point it may be of interest to note the proportion of the adult males in each section who are heads of families. This proportion has an extraordinary range, varying from 85 per cent. with shipwrights to 34 per cent. with seamen and 30 per cent with army and navy (see table on p. 42).

This proportion and the constitution of the average family are closely connected with the ages of the persons employed in each section, of which we shall treat next. They are also affected by economic position and class habits.

TABLE VI.—*Percentage of Male Heads of Families to Males over 20 (census (1891) enumeration).*

SECTION.	Per Cent.	SECTION.	Per Cent.
Shipwrights, &c.	85	Musical instruments and toys	71½
Builders	83	Tailors.....	71½
Publicans	83	Millers, &c.....	71½
Dock and wharf service	81	Watches and clocks	71
Municipal labour	81	Paper manufactures	71
Plasterers and paperhangers	79½	Butchers and fishmongers ..	71
Extra service	79	Grocers, &c.	71
Coopers, &c.	78½	Railway service	71
Masons	78	Police	70½
Carpenters and joiners.....	78	Jewellers, &c.....	70½
India-rubber, &c.	78	Glass and earthenware.....	70½
Railway labour	78	Engine drivers and artisans	
Gasworks service	78	(undefined)	70½
Bricklayers	77½	Hatters	70
General shop-keepers	77½	Dressmakers, &c.	70
Tobacco workers	77	Plumbers.....	69½
Coal, wood and corn dealers	77	Ironmongers, &c.	69½
Blacksmiths	76	Merchants, brokers, &c.	69½
Lightermen	76	Dock labourers	69½
Dyers and cleaners	75½	Unoccupied.....	69½
Religion	75	Bookbinders	69
Painters and glaziers	75	Civil and municipal service..	69
Locksmiths, &c.	75	Factory labourers (undef.) ...	68½
Brush-makers	75	Medicine.....	68½
Cabinet makers, &c.	74½	Stationers	68
Sundry workers in iron and		Bakers and confectioners.....	67
steel.....	74½	Shirtmakers, &c.	67
Leather dressing, &c.	74½	Surgical, &c., instruments ...	66½
Hemp, jute, and fibre	74½	Country labour	66½
Boot and shoe-makers	74½	Literature, &c.	66½
Engineering, &c.	74	Architects, &c.	65½
Trimmings, &c.	74	Printers	65½
Gardeners, &c.	74	Lodging and coffee-house	
Coal-porters	74	keepers	64
Brewers and mineral water		Education	64
makers	73½	General labourers	63½
Carriage building	73	Art and amusement	63
Woollens, carpets	73	Law	62
Milk-sellers	73	Warehousemen and messen-	
Brass, copper, tin, lead, &c....	72½	gers	61
Chemicals	72½	Costers and street-sellers ...	60
Booksellers, &c.....	72½	Commercial clerks	53½
Soap, candles, glue, &c.	72	Machinists	52½
Saddlery, harness, &c.	72	Drapers, &c.	45
Silk and fancy textiles.....	72	Household service.....	37½
Cab and omnibus service.....	72	Seamen	34
Carmen	72	Army and Navy.....	30

CHAPTER V.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE OCCUPIED CLASSES.

For each trade section, or for nearly every such section in the four preceding volumes, a diagram has been furnished comparing the ages of occupied males in the section with the age distribution of all occupied males in London. Some trades follow almost exactly the general line, whilst others show a special surplus or special deficiency of young persons, or of those in middle life, or in old age, as the case may be. Others, again, show marked irregularities, pointing usually either to the combination under one heading of trades with different characteristics, or to some notable industrial change (as, for instance, a surplus of old men in decaying industries, or their entire absence in trades of recent origin), or indicating, it may be, the substitution of boy labour or female labour for that of adult men.

The diagram herewith (I.) shows four separate curves chosen to represent (1) the normal line, (2) an exaggerated number of young persons, (3) the absence of young men, and (4) an excess of old men. In studying these curves it must be borne in mind that every elevation of one part of the line has a depressing effect elsewhere; but it is nevertheless in most cases possible to determine whether excess or deficiency is the active agent, or whether both influences must be counted.

The object of the proposed comparison is to show, as a study of industrial friction, the manner in which opportunities of employment necessarily shift from trade to trade as the workers pass from boyhood to old age.

In some trades there are hardly any young people employed, and in others comparatively few who are not young. In only a few trades is the proportion at every age quite the same as that of the whole occupied popula-

tion, and those with only a slight divergence are not numerous. It follows that a very large number of people necessarily change their trade at least once, as they pass from boyhood to manhood and from manhood to old age.

In the following trades we find true proportions at each age :—

Cabinet makers.
Engineering, &c.
Sundry iron and steel-workers.
Leather-dressers, &c.
Booksellers.
Millers, &c.

The boy who starts work in any of these trades may fairly hope to live his life and end his days in it. It is only if the trade contracts that any of its members need to look for other work.

The trades which show very slight deviations from the normal line are :—

Occupation.	Direction of other deviations.	} Accompanied by very slight deviations from normal proportion.
Brass, copper, tin, lead, &c., workers.....	Excess of youths.	
Engine drivers and artisans (undefined)...	"	
Musical instrument and toy-makers	"	
Saddlers and harness-makers	Deficiency of youths and in prime of life.	
Jewellers, gold and silver workers	Deficiency of youths.	
General labourers	"	
Seamen	"	
Tailors	Deficiency of youths and in prime of life; excess of old.	
Hatters.....	Deficiency in prime of life and excess of old.	
Law	Excess in prime of life.	

In these trades the ages of those employed are so nearly normal as not materially to affect the questions of movement and friction, but of no other employments can this be said. In some cases almost every boy who enters a trade does so knowing that his future will lie elsewhere. In others the demand is for the very cream of manhood; boys are not wanted, and the muscle and nerve

of even the middle-aged becomes too stiff. In this respect almost every occupation, as an examination of the diagrams given in preceding volumes shows, has its peculiarity.

It is not very easy to make an effective comparison of this kind, but something may be done by grouping together those occupations which show more or less similar peculiarities: and this we will attempt in a sequence beginning with those in which the young prevail, and ending with the occupations which especially favour the old.

The trades which have an exaggerated proportion of boys and young men are:—

Occupation.	Principal deviation from normal line.	Direction of other deviations.
Warehousemen and messengers	Strongly marked excess to 20	Deficiency 30 and up.
Factory labour (undefined) ...	" " "	
Commercial clerks, &c.	" " 25	
Printers	" " 30	Deficiency 45 and up.
Drapers, &c.	" " "	
Army and navy ...	" " "	Deficiency 45 and up.
Domestic service .	" " "	Deficiency in prime of life.
Soap, candles, glue, &c., manuf.	Moderate excess to 20	Deficiency in prime of life.
Chemical workers	" " "	
Hemp, jute, and fibre workers ...	" " "	Deficiency in prime of life.
Paper manufacturers	" " "	
Civil and municipal service	" " "	
Stationers	" " " 25	
Book-binders	" " "	
Glass and earthenware manuf. ...	" " "	
Ironmongers, &c. .	" " "	
Grocers &c.	" " "	
Surgical and electrical instrumts.	" " " 30	Deficiency 45 and up.
Milk-sellers	" " "	" "
Bakers and confectioners	" " "	
Butchers and fishmongers	" " "	
Carmen	" " "	
Plumbers, &c.	" " "	

The difficulty of finding civilian employment experienced by soldiers who are discharged or pass into the reserve after a short period of service, has been brought forcibly before the public, but perhaps they are not so much worse off than others who are thrown out by general tendencies, on the average as inexorable in their working as any term of enlistment. In some cases the excess of the young is due to the novel character or rapid expansion of a business, and it will take another decade, or perhaps two, before we can say at what age those who have grown up in the trade must be dispensed with.

The sections which employ an excessive proportion of men in the prime of life are as follows:—

Occupation.	Principal deviation from normal line.	Direction of other deviations.
Railway service	Excess 25 to 35 ...	Excess of youths.
Education	„ 25 to 40 ...	Deficiency of youths.
Coal-porters	„ „	Deficiency of youths and old age.
Brewers and mineral water manuf.....	„ 25 to 45 ...	Deficiency of youths and excess 45 to 60.
Cab and omnibus service...	„ „	Deficiency of youths.
Police	„ „	„
Gas-works service	„ 25 to 50 ...	„
Architects	„ 30 to 45 ...	Excess 45 and up.
Bricklayers.....	„ „	„
Medicine.....	„ „	„
Literature	„ „	„
Art and amusement	„ „	„
Religion	„ „	„
Extra domestic service.....	Deficiency 20 to 30	„
Publicans	Excess 30 to 50 ...	Deficiency of youths and excess 50 to 60.
Masons	„ 35 to 45 ...	Excess 45 and up.
Carpenters and joiners.....	„ „	„
Plasterers and paper-hangers	„ „	„
Painters, &c.	„ „	„
Railway labour	„ „	Deficiency of youths and excess 45 to 60.
Dock labour	„ „	„
Dock service	„ „	Deficiency of youths and excess 45 and up.
Lodging and coffee-house keepers	„ „	„ „

Of the above it should be noted that in most instances the excess is carried past the prime of life, *i.e.* from forty-five to sixty. This is the case with railway labour, six sections from the building trades, brewers, publicans and coffee-house keepers, as well as with medicine, art, literature, religion and extra service.

It will at once be apparent that this table exactly reverses the conditions presented by the sections which employ an excess of young men, but great ingenuity and a very wide knowledge would be needed to dovetail the two. Many who are messengers up to twenty may appear later, for instance, under railway service; a surplus of young domestic servants may pass into the category of extra (*i.e.* outside) domestic service, or be found as coffee or lodging-house keepers or publicans, or become cabmen, busmen, or stablemen, or join the police; lads described as "factory labourers, undefined," or engaged in sundry manufactures—soap, candles, chemicals, &c.—may, perhaps, afterwards feed the ranks of dock labour, or become in their years of greatest strength gas-workers or coal-porters. In some way these transitions are made—the movement may be up or down, of the nature of promotion or the reverse. The figures before us give a glimpse of the seething mass of industrial life, in which individual action, guided by necessity or profit, adapts itself to human needs. The process is, perhaps, a salutary one, but it involves much suffering and many dismal failures, and, it may be, a good deal of unnecessary friction, while it is made much worse for the young Londoners if the best places are filled by countrymen who come to London.

In the following sections the excess is only found after forty or forty-five—that is, when the prime of life is past:—

Occupation.	Principal deviation from normal line.	Direction of other deviations.
Lightermen	Excess 40 to 50	Deficiency of youths.
Builders	„ 40 to 60	Excess of old.
Carriage builders	„ „	Deficiency of youths.
Coopers	„ „	Deficiency of youths and excess of old.
Blacksmiths	„ „	
Dyers and cleaners	„ „	Deficiency of youths and in prime of life.
Boot and shoe workers	„ „	Deficiency of youths and in prime of life, excess of old.
Coal, wood and corn dealers	„ „	Excess of old.
Municipal labour	„ „	Deficiency of youths.
Shipwrights	„ 45 to 60	Deficiency of youths and excess of old.
Gardeners and country labour	„ „	„ „
Watch and clock-makers.....	„ „	„ „

In six of the foregoing groups, the excess beyond fifty-five or sixty is carried into quite old age, and there are also the following instances in which abnormal proportions are only shown after fifty-five—that is, in old age:—

Occupation.	Principal deviation from normal line.	Direction of other deviations.
Silk and fancy textiles	Excess 55 and up	Deficiency of youths and in prime of life.
Brush-makers	„ „	„ „
Tailors	Excess 60 and up	„ „
Hatters	„ „	Deficiency in prime of life.

[Milliners and dressmakers, shirtmakers and seamstresses, trimmings, artificial flowers, &c., and machinists, consisting mainly of females, are omitted from the foregoing comparisons.]

Lightermen and watermen may not improbably have been sailors in their more active years. Those who call themselves builders have perhaps been previously connected with the building trade in some special branch, and so too with blacksmiths, who when young may perhaps be returned as hammermen. Dealers in coal, wood, &c., are often men who have retired from more active occupations. With boot-makers, tailors and hatters, the excess of old men,

which is not very great, is no doubt due to the work being comparatively light. Those so employed perhaps live to a greater age, and at any rate can continue longer at work than many others. The same may no doubt be said of gardeners.

But the most striking instances of excessive proportion of the old are the decaying or decayed trades—coopers, shipwrights, silk-weavers, rope-makers, and watch-makers—as shown on the annexed diagram (II.).

The lines on the diagram which represent coopers and shipwrights correspond very closely. Few young men enter these trades, but the old remain. In another decade, doubtless, the curve will have changed, in so far that the excess in proportion will be at sixty in place of fifty; and gradually, with greatly reduced numbers, a normal line will again occur, beginning at twenty or twenty-five and proceeding downwards towards old age.

In the curve which represents silk-weaving, &c., we see signs of the springing up of new methods, or new industries, finding employment for the young; and on the other hand the exaggeration in old age has passed on to sixty, and over sixty; for the decay of the old Spitalfields industry dates from nearly forty years ago. In rope-making it is not decay, but a change of system that is indicated. Here the use of machinery has brought in a large number of boys; men from twenty-five to forty-five are missing; but the old hands linger on. It is the same with the making of watches and clocks, where the line, practically normal up to forty, shows a surplus of the old at fifty and still more at sixty years of age.

As already indicated, the facts we are dealing with can usually be stated either in terms of excess or of deficiency, *i.e.* as an unusually large proportion at one time of life, or an unusually small proportion at some other time, but in some cases it is the deficiency at some particular age which is to be remarked rather than a surplus at any

other. The following sections showing abnormally small proportions at certain ages, are instances of this:—

Occupation.	Principal deviation from normal line.	Direction of other deviations.
Locksmiths, &c. ...	Deficiency up to 25	—
Woollen goods and carpet manufactures	„ 17 to 40	Deficiency in prime of life.
India-rubber goods and floor-cloth-makers	„ 20 to 25	—
Tobacco workers ...	„ „	—
General shopkeepers	„ up to 30	Deficiency in prime of life.
Costermongers and street-sellers	„ 20 to 30	—

All the above show a surplus later on, but there is a special and exceptional lack of younger men.

The pressure on life caused by the need of leaving one employment and seeking another, has been here considered pathologically, as involving suffering ; as a necessary evil. But it has another aspect, under which it appears as the spring of health rather than an attack upon welfare.

An able French writer, in a recent book on the position of labour in England,* has treated this necessity, which he recognizes as a prominent feature of our modern life, entirely from this more cheerful aspect, and finds in it the true base and best hope of our national prosperity. This view may, perhaps, be carried too far, but must not on that account be neglected.

To get rid of all shifting from trade to trade would be to sink to a system of caste, with its fatal stagnation. There is a healthy stimulus to individual energy in every decision demanded from us, and a power of education in the exercise of forethought. And connected with this there is a selec-

* "The Labour Question in Britain," by Paul de Rousiers. (English translation : Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1896.)

tive force. Those profit who are ready to meet inevitable change and take advantage of opportunities that may offer. But neither the advantage to the "Wise Virgins" nor the educational value of the competitive process generally is much solace to the many who suffer for their folly or lack of strength.

Moreover, the pressure which we recognize as good in many ways for humanity at large is precisely what every wise man seeks to avoid for himself and for his children too, except in a very mitigated form. Thus, though as a discipline it may be a blessing in disguise, it is as an evil that the enforced shifting from employment to employment is here considered.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE EMPLOYEES.

So large a proportion of females at every age claim no industrial occupation, and transfers from the occupied to the unoccupied ranks, or *vice versâ*, are so frequent, owing to marriage, widowhood, or other change of circumstance, that no argument as to industrial friction can be drawn from the figures. Nevertheless, they are of some interest.

It seems that milliners and dress-makers follow exactly the normal line; that is, the proportions of all ages following these pursuits are almost exactly the same as those of the whole occupied female population of London. Tailoring, brush and comb-making, and cabinet making (*i.e.* upholstery), differ very little from the normal, but the difference in all is the same, there being a slight deficiency of girls and of women up to thirty-five years of age, and a slight excess above that age. Hat and cap-making show a surplus of girls, a deficiency of women from twenty-five to fifty, with a normal line in old age. Confectioners, tobacco-workers, book-binders, envelope cutters, boot and shoe-workers, and machinists, all have a surplus of girls, and deficiency in later life. It is the same with domestic servants. The proportion is redressed by shirt-makers and seamstresses,

charwomen, and washerwomen, amongst whom there is a great preponderance of the old. The annexed diagram (III.) gives the lines for tailoring, book-binding and extra service (including charwomen, &c.) for comparison.

In closing this chapter it may be of interest if we insert a diagram (IV.) to show the age distribution of the whole population of London, divided into occupied and unoccupied, male and female, and note the peculiarities which, applying to the whole and representing general tendencies, must necessarily be repeated, though in different degrees, in the various parts.

What at once strikes the eye on referring to the diagram is the upward "kink" in the curve representing the whole population from twenty or a little below twenty to nearly twenty-five. This is the age at which the greatest influx happens, and the lines dealing with each sex separately show that the greater part of the immigrants are young women of or under twenty years of age, coming, no doubt, from the provinces as domestic servants, or sometimes as wives to men who, if not married when they come to London, may seek a wife in their country home.

Employment with both sexes begins between ten and fifteen years of age, and the numbers employed rapidly reach their maximum, with women before twenty, with men between twenty and twenty-five. By (or before) twenty, marriage provides a domestic career for many young women who have previously been in employment of one kind or another, and continues to affect the line till thirty-five or forty. Were it not for the large number of girls and young women who come to London between fifteen and thirty years of age, the effect of marriage would be still more marked.

The curve which represents the proportion of unoccupied females tells the same story, but of course reversed. It shows numbers increasing rapidly from about

seventeen up to thirty, and following after thirty the ordinary line of decrease by mortality, only slightly affected by the abandonment of work in old age.

The curve for males also shows signs of the immigration, especially between the ages of from about seventeen to twenty-three, when very large numbers of clerks, shop-assistants, young working men, and students in one or another of the professions, come to London. But, in the case of men, the effect of this immigration is to a great extent counteracted by the exodus which takes place, much larger numbers than among women leaving, permanently or temporarily, for the provinces, the colonies, or abroad.

As compared with the independent course taken by the curve for occupied females, the close correspondence, after the age of about twenty-two, of the curve representing the occupied males with that for the total of males in London is a noteworthy feature, accompanied as it is by the correlative fact that from about the same age the small number of unoccupied males remains practically stationary to the end.

CHAPTER VI.

STATUS AS TO EMPLOYMENT.

IN considering the comparative poverty of those employed in each section, we have constantly referred to the division shown by the census of 1891 between employers, employed, and those who are neither employers nor employed. A further use can be made of the same figures to indicate the average size of the unit of business.

Thus in book-binding there are fifty-one employed persons to each employer, but amongst watch and clock-makers, only four to each employer. It is not possible to apply this test to every occupation. In the building trades, for example, we find bricklayers, carpenters, painters, &c., all in the employ of men who call themselves "builders," while there are also master bricklayers, and master carpenters who do not claim to be builders, and master painters, whose men often include carpenters, plasterers and plumbers. In many cases it is, in fact, doubtful by which of several possible titles a master man should rightly describe himself. Even so, although it would not be possible to give the proportion of employers to employed in any particular section, we might still do this for the aggregate of the building trades, were it not that we find bricklayers, carpenters and painters as employed men in many other quarters, for instance in gasworks, railway-works, and any large manufacturing business. The same thing is true of blacksmiths, copper-smiths

and tinsmiths, and of many branches of engineering, as well as of coopers, carmen, coachmen, stable-men, &c. Then, too, there are employments in which all are employers—such as “contractors,” “ship-owners,” &c., and others in which all are employees, amongst them being “artisans,” “machinists,” and “labourers” of every kind. Not only is it impossible to deal with these sections themselves, but they affect the results shown by other sections, for a discrepancy is caused if some of those employed, instead of being placed in their proper trade, appear elsewhere in the census—for instance, as machinists or artisans, or as general labourers or clerks. Those who follow these occupations, having no employers in their own section, must be distributed amongst the other sections, and would by so much increase the numbers there returned. In other cases there is a transfer—as, for instance, with regard to workers in “other metals,” viz., copper, tin, lead, &c., some of whom will be employed in engine and machine making; or, it may be, at chemical works, or by brewers and distillers, or by printers, with the result that what one section gains, another loses. The sections to which these errors principally apply have not been included in the list which follows. We have not, for example, ventured to state any figures for the separate divisions of the building trades, but we know that the average number per master is on the whole something like thirteen. The list is nevertheless sufficient, and is probably sufficiently correct, to afford an interesting comparison.

If we consider the number of male employees only, it is seen that printers head the list, followed by the engineering trades, but, if women are included, book-binders have, on the average, the largest establishments—standing first as to women and girls, and third as to men and boys:—

Table VII.—Showing number of Employed to each Employer in certain Trades.

	Employees.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	
Book-binders	20	31	51
Paper manufacturers	9	29	38
Printers	33	2	35
Engineering, &c.	27	—	27
Sundry workers in iron and steel	18	—	18
Glass and earthenware	15	2	17
Hemp, jute, and fibre	10	7	17
Brass, copper, tin, &c.	15	1	16
Woollens and carpets	8	7	15
Brewers and mineral water workers	14	1	15
Hatters	8	6	14
Millers, &c.	11	2½	13½
Surgical and electrical instruments	12	1	13
Chemicals	8	5	13
Brush-makers	8	5	13
Carriage building	12	—	12
Leather dressing, &c.	8	4	12
Silk and fancy textiles	5	7	12
India-rubber, floor-cloth, &c.	7	5	12
Tailors	6	6	12
Musical instruments & toys	10	1	11
Soap, candles, glue, &c.	9	2	11
Dress-makers and milliners	—	11	11
Cabinet makers	8½	1½	10
Boot and shoe-makers	8	2	10
Drapers, &c.	5	5	10
Dyers and cleaners	4½	3	7½
Jewellers	6	1	7
Saddlery, harness, &c.	7	—	7
Bakers and confectioners	4	2	6
Milk-sellers	4	1	5
Watches and clocks	4	—	4

The small average size of industrial establishments at once arrests attention, and this is the more noticeable when it is remembered that in many of the trades mentioned there are found some very large factories, whose size, although they may count their employees by hundreds, is entirely swamped when averaged with the great mass of small establishments; nor is this all, for in addition to the small factories and workshops, wherein are to be found both

employers and employed, there are in many trades a very large number of men who work on their own account, employing no one or obtaining only a little assistance of an unprofessional kind from members of their own family. The extent to which this form of individual production, and that of the smallest type of workshop, obtains in London, is shown in the following table:—

Table VIII.—Showing number of individuals who work on their own account compared to number of those who employ others, in various trades.

	Employers.	Working on own account.
Shirt-makers and seamstresses.....	353	3581
Dress-makers and milliners	5280	18,500
Boot and shoe-makers	3042	5238
Watch and clock-makers	686	968
Cabinet makers.....	4226	5199
Musical instruments and toys.....	815	919
Brush-makers	356	379
Silk and fancy textiles.....	355	364
Surgical and electrical instrument makers.....	539	481
Tailors	3767	3363
Saddlery, harness, &c.	424	353
Dyers and cleaners.....	208	166
Carriage builders.....	708	561
Jewellers, gold and silver workers	970	741
Milk-sellers	1547	1213
Bakers and confectioners	3134	2192

Note.—The return called for in the census was not always filled up, and it is here assumed that those who made no return consisted of employers, employed, and “neither” in the same proportions as the far larger number of those who made the return.

It will be seen that in all the trades which are suited for operations on a small scale, there are about as many men who work on their own account as there are employers. These small units of industry may sometimes be the survival of an old state of things, but by no means always. More often they are the form which the most pushing industries adopt in the struggle for existence. London is

no doubt the stronghold of small industries, but London is the greatest of modern cities, and what is true of London is, I believe, not less true of all great cities—of New York and Melbourne, as well as of Paris and Berlin.

On the whole, if we except such large and impersonal undertakings as railways, docks, and gasworks, the police force and various forms of public service, one notices rather the immense number of small undertakings than the tendency to exaggeration of size, which is supposed to be characteristic of modern industry. The figures which can be given are far from perfect, but will, at any rate, do very well for comparing one period with another. The census of 1891 may serve in this way as a starting point, and after a decade has passed we shall perhaps be able to see more clearly in what direction we are moving in this respect.

CHAPTER VII.

INCREASING AND DECREASING TRADES.

BETWEEN 1881 and 1891 the population of London increased $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but the numbers employed in this or that trade were affected in very varying degrees. Those engaged in making surgical, scientific, and electrical instruments, for instance, increased no less than 113 per cent., while, on the other hand, shipwrights decreased $56\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The true mean is occupied by leather dressers, fur-pullers, &c., amongst whom the gain in the decade exactly kept pace with that of the population.

If we look back further we find that the augmentation in the numbers of scientific instrument makers has been continuous, amounting to 246 per cent. since 1861. This increase has been exceeded only by that of the paper trades, in which the total addition to the numbers employed was 250 per cent. Shipwrights have as continuously declined, the reduction being no less than $72\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. since 1861. Where there is an increase it has, as a rule, been a fairly steady one during the whole thirty years, and where a decrease that also has been persistent. An exception to this rule is to be found in the building trades, in which only the last decade shows a decrease; the explanation being, not that the trade has really declined, but that its operations have been partly transferred to districts beyond the census boundaries. Hat and cap makers form another exception, as after decreasing rapidly up to 1881, they show 12 per cent. increase in the last

Table IX.—Showing the increase or decrease in Metropolitan industries and professions between 1861 and 1891.

Section.	Numbers returned, 1891.	Increases or Decreases.		Section.	Numbers returned, 1891.	Increases or Decreases.	
		1881-1891	1861-1891			1881-1891	1861-1891
		%	%			%	%
Surgical, &c. instructionists.....	8,300	+ 113	+ 216	Army and navy	15,800	+ 15½	- 25
Factory labour (undefined) ..	8,660	+ 79	+ 302½	Police, &c.	12,200	+ 15	+ 78
Mechanists	10,700	+ 78½	* =	Cabinet makers, &c.	52,600	+ 14	+ 13
Coal-pitiers	4,800	+ 50	+ 59	Railway labour.....	3,500	+ 13	+ 25
Paper manufacturers	11,700	+ 48½	+ 250	Gardeners, &c.	12,100	+ 13	+ 7
Caseworks &c.	5,900	+ 47½	+ 102½	Hat and cap-makers	5,500	+ 12	- 27½
Gas drivers and engine drivers (undefined) ..	18,000	+ 42	* + 221½	Railway service	24,800	+ 11½	+ 199
Musical repair, &c.	4,900	+ 49	+ 123	Warehousemen and messengers	63,600	+ 11	+ 66½
Costers and street-sellers ..	12,900	+ 38½	†	Leather dressing, &c.	15,700	+ 10½	+ 82½
Carmen	43,800	+ 36½	+ 198	Medicine.....	26,500	+ 8	+ 59
Foot-rubbers, &c.	3,100	+ 35	+ 138½	Brewers, mineral water workers.....	4,400	+ 7½	+ 22
Coal & municipal service ..	27,200	+ 31½	+ 45½	Carriage building	9,600	+ 5½	+ 18½
Dock and wharf service (labourers) ..	16,700	+ 31½	+ 17	Saddlery, harness, &c. ..	3,900	+ 5½	+ 11½
Printers	49,000	+ 33½	+ 121½	Household service, &c. ..	306,200	+ 5½	+ 37
Chemicals	5,800	+ 32	+ 141½	Boot and shoe-makers ..	39,000	+ 4½	- 8½
Bookbinders, &c.	7,800	+ 32	+ 66	Education	27,600	+ 5	+ 51½
Art and amusement	24,200	+ 32	+ 87½	Lodging and coffee-house keepers.....	11,000	+ 4	+ 63½
Engineering, &c.	25,000	+ 31½	+ 198½	Architects, &c.	6,000	+ 3½	+ 54
Machinists	10,200	+ 31	+ 82	Seamen	12,100	+ 3½	- 21½
Tool-makers	52,300	+ 30	+ 41½	General labourers	79,700	+ 3½	+ 60
Soot, candles, glue, &c.	2,200	+ 29½	- 26½	Locksmiths, &c.	5,300	=	+ 38
Bakers and confectioners ..	25,800	+ 29	+ 64½	Jewellers, &c.	8,600	=	+ 16
Commercial clerks	108,400	+ 28½	+ 205½	Hemp, jute, fibre.....	3,300	=	+ 23
Plumbers	9,300	+ 27½	†	Publicans	15,000	- 3	- 17½
Coppers, &c.	31,500	+ 27½	+ 59	Sundry workers in iron and steel	10,700	- 1	- 5½
Drapers, &c.	31,900	+ 26½	+ 53	Merchants, brokers, &c. ..	20,000	- 1½	+ 58½
Stationers	8,900	+ 25½	+ 98	Lightermen	6,000	- 1½	=
Cab and omnibus service.....	48,200	+ 25	+ 69½	General shop-keepers....	14,200	- 3	†
Religion	8,600	+ 21½	+ 75½	Woollens and carpets ..	2,700	- 3½	- 37
Travellers, &c.	9,600	+ 21½	+ 88	Law	14,600	- 4½	+ 26½
Blacksmiths	12,300	+ 24	+ 28	Dyers and cleaners.....	2,000	- 5	- 29
Bookbinders	15,900	+ 23	+ 104	Carpenters and joiners ..	31,500	- 13	+ 25
Binders	8,900	+ 22	+ 134	Watches and clocks	4,300	- 14	- 21½
Lithography and scenes ..	4,500	+ 21½	+ 137	Brush-makers	5,500	- 14	- 2
Musical instruments and toys	10,400	+ 21	+ 37	Masons	6,500	- 16½	+ 41½
Bones, copper, tin, lead, &c.	17,200	+ 19½	+ 35½	Bricklayers	19,100	- 18	+ 14
Clothes and millinery	5,000	+ 19	+ 60½	Plasterers & paperhangers	4,300	- 19	+ 6
Paints	93,000	+ 19	+ 50½	Millers, &c.	2,300	- 20½	- 49
Dressmakers, &c.	9,200	+ 18	+ 91½	Silk and fancy textiles ..	4,800	- 21½	- 61½
Travellers, &c.	19,700	+ 16½	+ 7½	Coal, wood, corn-dealers	6,600	- 21½	- 9½
Painters and glaziers	32,700	+ 16	†	Coopers	3,600	- 29½	- 35
Dressmakers & milliners ..	83,100	+ 16	+ 46½	Shirt-makers and seamstresses.....	18,500	- 32	- 34
Broom and brush-makers ..	28,600	+ 15½	+ 26½	Country labour.....	3,800	- 34½	- 51½
				Shipwrights, &c.	2,300	- 50½	- 72½

Increase of Population: 1881-1891, 10½ per cent.; 1861-1891, 50 per cent.

* The figures are for 1871-1891, as there was no return for machinists or engine drivers in 1861.

† Station and general shop-keepers are combined in 1861; 1861-1891 + 84½ per cent. Plumbers and painters combined in 1871; 1861-1891 + 100 per cent.

= Drapers and milliners were the same as in 1861.

decade, undoubtedly due to the rise of the cloth cap industry. In the case of seamen, too, a rapid decline has been followed recently by a slight increase, and, on the other hand, merchants, bankers and brokers, whose numbers were greatly augmented from 1861 to 1881, have decreased slightly since—due, perhaps, to the development of limited liability companies.

The changes are often significant as showing the drift and direction of modern industry, and the extension of old or creation of new demands. A distinction, however, must be drawn between trades which work for a wide market, and those which, like the cab and omnibus service, find their customers entirely in London. Among industries of the former description, we find no increase in the last decade equal to that already mentioned as being shown by the scientific instrument makers (which is connected chiefly with the extended demand for electrical appliances); but paper manufacture (that is, the making of paper boxes and bags, and the cutting of envelopes) shows an increase of $48\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; India-rubber and floor-cloth, 35 per cent.; chemical workers, 32 per cent.; engineering, &c., $31\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.*; and soap and candle makers, $29\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. All these trades, excepting the last, lie in the full stream of modern development, and in connection with the trade of candle making we have already noted the very remarkable fact that the more light we have the more we seem to require, so that the demands for electricity, gas, petroleum and candles, all increase together.

A very considerable addition ($34\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) is shown in the numbers of those returned as employed about the docks and wharves, but these men are in every census confused more or less with general labourers, and consequently

* The increase amongst engine and machine makers is the more remarkable as it has come about in spite of a great transfer of all descriptions of iron work to the North and Midlands.

the figures are open to doubt. A better test of the amount of work connected with the receiving and handling of merchandise is perhaps afforded by the carmen, who have increased $36\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the decade, and no less than 198 per cent. since 1861. These are very eloquent figures, which certainly do not bear out the view that trade is leaving the Port of London. Coal-porters show an increase of 50 per cent., due partly no doubt to the general development of trade, but more to the substitution of coal-consuming steamers for sailing vessels. It is possible, too, that, as an indirect result of completer organization, a larger proportion of coal-porters have in the last decade returned themselves correctly, instead of as labourers, and this may perhaps apply to dock labourers also. But in any case the figures are strong evidence of the extension of business, of which another proof is found in the increase of commercial clerks by $28\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the decade, and by no less than $205\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. since 1861.

The decreasing trades—trades which are leaving London—are milling, sugar-refining, &c., which show $20\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. reduction in the decade, or 49 per cent. in the thirty years, due mainly to the loss of the sugar industry through foreign bounties;* silk and fancy textiles, in which the reduction is $21\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. since 1881, and no less than $61\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. since 1861 (another back-water on the great stream of free trade); coopers, whose trade has slipped away, chiefly in the last ten years, in connection with the substitution of metal drums for wooden barrels, and the making of the latter by machinery; and finally shipwrights (already referred to), who have suffered in the revolution which, in replacing wood by iron and steel in ship-building, has transferred this trade to the North of England. All these trades work for a large market.

Other changes in the census totals indicate alterations in

* Against this may be set the increase in the manufacture of jams, &c., owing to the cheapness of sugar.

business methods. For instance, we find an increase in undefined factory labour of 79 per cent. in the decade, following similar increases in the preceding periods, so that the total addition (calculated on a small original total) is no less than $309\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; besides this, artisans, &c., undefined, have increased by 43 per cent. since 1881. Here we undoubtedly trace the application of science to manufacture, with the result that in certain trades the contribution of skill passes into new and fewer hands—the hands of those who direct rather than those who do the work—and thus tends to be dissociated, perhaps for ever, from the old skill of the handicraftsman. This revolution, though connected with the introduction of machinery, is not confined to it, nor have we yet felt, by any means, its full effect. The increase in machinists (78 per cent.) which reflects the application of the sewing machine to many trades, has been naturally accompanied by a decrease amongst seamstresses. With tailors also the addition (30 per cent.) is connected mainly with a changed method of business, which by immensely cheapening the production of clothes, has found a wider market. In fact a new branch of trade has been created, in which room has been found for a large proportion of the Jewish immigrants, by whom or by whose co-religionists this industry has been principally built up.

Some trades there are, showing large additions to their numbers, in which can be traced both the gradual movement of modern industry and a special extension of London demands; such as printing, with $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. addition since 1881, and no less than $124\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. since 1861, and book-binding with an increase of 23 per cent. in ten years, or 104 per cent. in thirty years. Books, papers and periodicals printed in the metropolis go all over the world, but a large part of the demand lies within the boundaries of London, and consequently we find a considerable growth in the number of book-sellers and newsagents,

amounting to 32 per cent. in ten, or 66 per cent. in thirty years. Of a similar character is the increase in the number of makers of musical instruments and toys; an increase which, as showing the capacity of the population for spending money on the smaller luxuries of life, may perhaps be taken as a further indication of prosperity.

Turning now to those who are engaged solely in serving London, we note that gasworks service has increased $47\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in ten years, and no less than $103\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. since 1861. Those employed in drainage and the care of the streets, have increased 40 per cent. in ten years. They are mostly paid out of public funds. With the section of art and amusement we come to strictly private undertakings supported by voluntary expenditure on luxuries or pleasures, and here we find that those who minister to the public in this way have added 32 per cent. to their numbers while the whole population they serve has increased only $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and although, no doubt, visitors to London provide a considerable and growing contingent of playgoers, yet if we take all kinds of places of amusement, and all prices of seats in each house, the proportion of Londoners amongst the audiences must be overwhelming. Coachmen, cabmen and 'busmen have increased 25 per cent., and all classes undoubtedly share the benefit, especially as regards omnibuses and tramcars. Then again milk-sellers have grown 31 per cent., indicating, surely, a widespread advance in comfort, and possibly also in sobriety. Though greatest in recent years this rise has been continuous, so that milk-sellers have increased since 1861 by 82 per cent. This increase has been accompanied, and perhaps partly caused, by a revolution in the trade; London dairies having been superseded by railway borne milk far superior in quality to that formerly supplied.

No less satisfactory than the increase in the retailers of milk is the decrease in the numbers of publicans and their assistants, which, though only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the last decade,

is $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. since 1861—a great change when compared with 50 per cent. increase of population.

On the whole, the changes in the industrial constitution of London point to and are no doubt closely connected with a general increase in and concentration of wealth. That “wealth accumulates and men decay” is in some sense a true verdict as regards London, but it is not the whole truth, for, thanks largely on the one hand to better administration, and on the other to a healthy influx and efflux of population, a wholesome balance is maintained, and it may even be hoped that the better influences prevail.

There are some further subjects on which comparisons might be made. Among these apprenticeship and methods of learning and the extent of trade organization will receive consideration later. Other points may very likely occur to the reader on which information might have been useful, but which we have passed over. It is evident, for instance, that more might be made of the constitution of the census family—the ages and birthplaces of its members, their several occupations, and their actual relationship to the head of the family. In this respect, though treated with great liberality by the Registrar-General, we were somewhat restricted by the terms upon which alone a private person could be allowed access to official information.

What has here been done for London might be much better done—and done for the whole country—at the epoch of any numerical census; and if undertaken, would constitute a social industrial census of very great value. With a little preconcerted arrangement, so that the information gathered by the Registrar-General might lend itself easily to such further investigation, the work I have attempted might, I venture to suggest, be taken up by the Board of Trade with the certainty of a far larger measure of success; and I should be glad to think that my imperfect attempt had done something to point the way.

PART II.—SURVEY AND CONCLUSIONS.

CHAPTER I.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN INDUSTRY.

THE recognized characteristics of modern industry are an extreme division of labour, a continuously extending use of machinery, and a general complexity of organization. These conditions are usually supposed to point to a large scale of operations, but they do not by any means exclude the class of small employers of labour.

Some trades are suitable only for small and others only for large establishments, but in most occupations success is compatible with units of very varying size. It is true that small businesses, if they succeed, tend to become larger, and, if they fail, cease to exist; but it is also true that there is a never-ceasing supply of new undertakings, of all sizes indeed, but most frequently on a small scale. Moreover, failure is not confined to small establishments, and the largest may break up; the common law of life—birth, growth, plenitude of vigour, decay and dissolution—applies very clearly to business undertakings, and, with trade as with human life, mortality, though greatest in infancy, is common to all. There is consequently a continuous flux in the development of industry, and it would be as reasonable to suppose that the day of small businesses is over as to look for an end of gnats, because of the strong flight and open beak of the swallow, or of small fishes because of the whale's great mouth.

In London the peculiarities and comparative advantages

of large and small units of trade have a special application, and are of particular interest, since London frequently represents the small, where the Provinces represent the large type; while within the confines of the Metropolis may be noted in some trades the struggle between factory and workshop, and in others between workshop and home industry. Thus the experience of London affords practical proof of the persistent vitality of small methods of business, and this vitality is easily explained. Success in the supply of ever-varying demands (the demands of modern civilized life) depends upon a ready adaptability to changing circumstances, and this is naturally a strong point in a regime of small business establishments, which, if they succeed, do so largely by virtue of close touch of the management with both customers and employees, or, if they fail, give place, with very slight economic disturbance, to others; coming and going or changing shape as required, unhampered by the stiffness of structure which is almost inseparable from large capitalist undertakings.

The characteristics first mentioned—division of labour, extension of machinery, and complexity of organization—cannot be said to be in themselves responsible for the connection of poverty with industry which undoubtedly exists in London. They play some part in producing this anomaly, but do not lie at the root of the matter. There is nothing that is necessarily hostile to the welfare of the worker in the specialization of labour, or in the use of machinery, or in good book-keeping, or in the substitution of science for rule of thumb. In some directions the workman's responsibility and the importance of his individuality may be curtailed, but they do not cease to exist; they rather take new forms. Although something is lost in the character of the relations between employer and employed under the large system of industry, something also is gained; and it is to be noted that in the effort to secure the economic

advantages of both systems, the development of large businesses becomes more and more departmental in character, giving rise to new forms of individuality in management, and providing fresh opportunities for wholesome personal relations, not only between the public and those who serve it, but also in effect, if not in name, between employers and employed. We must dig a little deeper to find the connection that we seek between poverty and modern conditions of employment.

The special and over-mastering characteristic of industry in our times would seem to lie in altered conditions of industrial action following a change in the relation between supply and demand. Under quite simple conditions a known demand is the spring of production, and consumption follows closely on the heels of both. To-day trade no longer awaits this genuine impulse, but seeks to forestall or even to create it. Formerly the difficulty lay in supply—the demand in most cases was always present. Then the basis of any trade lay in having something to sell; now it lies far more in having found someone to buy. By this change the hands of the *entrepreneur* (or “undertaker,” as he has been gloomily called in our language) have been strengthened. Without his aid it is with difficulty that anyone can produce anything to advantage for sale, or offer acceptable service of any kind. In the making of a market the mere producer is helpless.

This, which I take to be the essential characteristic of modern industry, is evidenced by the spread of advertising. Begun in the interests of medicinal specifics, the efficacy of which depended largely upon faith, the system has been gradually extended till now almost every requisite of life seeks to attract the attention and win the favour of the consumer in this way, and the expense of securing publicity is a very considerable item in the cost of distribution. In the same direction, of even greater importance is the increasing employment of special travelling agents by those

who seek to market their wares. This development is in part an accomplished fact, in part only a tendency. But, though varying in degree, it is traceable more or less on every side. It is by no means a bad tendency. If the initiative lies with the consumer, he can only take what he finds ready, or at great expense order a special production for his use. But when the producer or dealer seeks a market for his wares, he must exercise good judgment in catering at the lowest possible prices for widespread wants, and by these means he opens up an enormously widened range of selection for the consumer. There is, I think, a large balance in favour of this system. But heightened competition and great irregularity of employment seem necessarily involved, bringing with them serious evils.

These evils the workers seek to counteract by organization, and the State by legislation, and against them public sentiment flings itself, at times with much misdirected abuse, at times with enthusiastic advocacy of impracticable remedies. Whether they be remediable or not, the existence of these evils has driven the indiscriminating advocacy of *laissez faire* from the field, and has even shaken seriously the stability and hold on public opinion of orthodox economic doctrine. It follows that there is great danger of ill-advised action, and it is as throwing some light on the character of these troubles and difficulties, and on the possibility of their removal, that I now turn to the material we have collected concerning industry in London.

The general characteristics of modern industry are closely associated with its organic character. In trade no member can suffer without others suffering too, and times of prosperity are generally shared. From this organic relationship special forms of expansion and contraction result, making epochs of good and bad trade which succeed

each other in cycles. It is true that such alternations are no new thing, having always followed upon favourable or unfavourable harvests, and having been even more marked in the past than now, but while by cheapening carriage and by other means, we have to a great extent equalized the distribution of the products of the earth and have vanquished famine, the periodical waves of good and bad times are still severe. We escape from the grip of dearth only to suffer the strange and monstrous strangulation of over-production.

Looked at from near by, these cycles of depression have a distinctly harmful and even a cruel aspect; but from a more distant point of view, "afar from the sphere of our sorrow," they seem less malignant. They might then, perhaps, with a little effort of the imagination, be considered as the orderly beating of a heart causing the blood to circulate—each throb a cycle. Even in the range of our lives, within easy grasp of human experience, whether or not men suffer from these alternations depends on the unit of time on which economic life is based. Those who live from day to day, or from week to week, and even those who live from year to year, may be pinched when trade contracts—some of them must be. There are some victims, but those who are able and willing to provide in times of prosperity for the lean years which seem inevitably to follow, do not suffer at all; and, if the alternations of good and bad times be not too sudden or too great, the community gains not only by the strengthening of character under stress, but also by a direct effect on enterprise. As to character the effect, especially on wage-earners, is very similar to that exercised on a population by the recurrence of winter as compared to the enervation of continual summer. As to enterprise, and this applies more particularly to the masters, it is not difficult to understand the invigorating influence of periodic stress. In bad times men's wits are exercised to escape loss, and only the more

capable managers, or those who command some special advantages, can stand the strain. There result a constant seeking after improvement, a weeding-out of the incapable, and a survival of the fittest. In good times the whole scale of operations with the improved methods is naturally extended, and when trade once more contracts the struggle is renewed. A cheapening of production results; but greater cheapness is not the only benefit to the community from this struggle, for from the pursuit of success under difficulties spring the efforts to which I have already referred, which are needed to approach or attract the customer and make it easier to serve him. Indeed, cheapness itself is sought as much in order to extend as to hold a market. In these ways existence is made easier to the consumer, the multiplication of wants is systematically encouraged by those whose object it is to supply them, and the standard of life rises.

The organic character of industry reacts upon individuals as well as trades. As in production each business plays its part—leaning upon other trades for support, or itself the centre of many subsidiary efforts—so under modern conditions it is with each individual worker. Increasing sub-division of labour makes it continually less possible for any one to stand alone. Hence there arises great complexity of industrial structure—a complexity which affects small units of business as well as large; for it frequently happens under the most modern development of the small employer that he “works for the trade,” undertaking some single operation—a mere fraction of a complicated process in the course of which the product passes backwards and forwards and from workshop to workshop on its road to completion. With improved and cheapened means of communication, division of labour is being extended in many directions, with striking and perhaps unexpected results. Not only do the small men work for the large, but

the large for the small ; the finished article of one operation being the raw material of the next.

When the small employer works for the large manufacturer it is usually to perform some detail, some special finishing process, which can be done as well perhaps under a separate roof and better under distinct management. Sometimes the "sub-contractor," as he is rather loosely described, coming in from outside is provided with the room he requires for his operations, or a regular employee in the factory may take work at a price, paying wages to those under him. Thus, even with respect to work done throughout under factory conditions, under the same roof and general management, there may be every shade of delegated authority, every degree of separate individuality and responsibility—from the foreman of a department, who merely carries out the orders he receives, to an independent master, working under inspection, but otherwise entirely uncontrolled. When the large factory works for the small master it is in the earlier processes—in preparing his materials, or the parts which he will put together.

In these ways the paths of both systems are made easy ; industry assumes a large or a small shape as convenience or economy may direct, and the result is an interdependent and very complicated machine, bound together by the ligaments of credit, in the action of which the productive impulse is gradually removed from the immediate requirements of the actual consumer, and becomes dependent on speculation and the forestalling of demand.

Thus it is that modern industry, with all its advantages, yet evolves an ill-regulated life of its own, with the periodical recurrence of glutted markets and workless workers.

On its good side the system is extraordinarily efficient. The capacities of man are stimulated, guided and brought to bear on the desired object, and the forces of nature are

more and more subdued to his service. No other system has been found equally productive.

Some of the workers suffer from pressure amounting to hardship, but every worker is also a consumer, and as consumers all gain; so that the standard of life rises in every, or almost every, class. There follow further, a general expansion and elasticity of trade, and an opening up of new avenues of success which have gone far to replace in European countries, and especially, I think, in England, the advantages which unoccupied land provides elsewhere. To talent, even of a very humble description, a career always opens, and energy and enterprise find nowhere a better market than at home.

Modern business, thus constituted, requires, above all things, good leadership. It is neither labour nor capital alone that profiteth, but rather the application of both to the needs of men. Labour without wise guidance is as useless as capital without the power to employ it well. The demand for the application of brains to capital, and of both to business management, was not always so exacting. A boot-maker, who waited to make boots till someone ordered them, needed no other impulse, and for guidance took his measure from his customer's foot. But if, in pursuit of cheapness of production and in his desire to supply a wider market, he now builds a factory, creates expensive machinery, and makes boots by the thousand, his success will evidently depend, in quite another degree, on sound judgment and business forethought. If he succeed, many will share the benefit of his success, and his failure, if he fail, will be correspondingly widespread in its effects.

Primitive methods still prevailed largely in the days of the older economists, and may account for their equally primitive analysis of the main instruments of production into land, capital, and labour. The further analysis, showing management as a distinct and most important form of industrial effort with profit as its characteristic mode of

remuneration, has only had full recognition in more recent years. As wages are the usual reward and motive of labour (using the word in its ordinary sense), as interest is the return and stimulus for the use of capital, and rent for the use and development of land, so profit making is the aim which mainly actuates management. "'Tis money makes the mare to go." They may require to be controlled by other considerations, but the desire to make, and the necessity of making, profit are the dominant influences in business management. If the desire for the maximum profit of the moment is accepted as the sole guide, grasping after gain may lead men far astray, both as caterers and as employers, but on the whole we may say, with Dr. Johnson, that "a man is seldom more innocently occupied than in making money."

No benefit can permanently accrue to those who undertake the management of business, without some corresponding advantage having been gained by those whose wants are supplied. Nor is this the only debt owed by society to what is contemptuously called "profit-mongering." The part profit plays as guide is perhaps not less important than that of motive, though it is rarely recognized. In this capacity it may be regarded as the proof that an exchange of services has been accomplished, the benefits of which are mutual. The making of profit decides whether labour has been wisely applied or material rightly used. Men will not pay for what they do not want, nor on the other hand continue to supply that by which they gain nothing. Thus we have in profit the final economic justification of expenditure in trade. Every transaction comes to be tried in the court of profit or loss, and no business enterprise, unless it be experimental or educational or philanthropic in its character, which does not respond to this guidance can be permanently either successful or useful.

It may be desirable to supplement the action of this

impulse. For some services other motives and other tests are required. But in the daily guidance of the greater part of the activities of life, it is not easy to see how it can be dispensed with or adequately replaced.

It will thus be seen that the status and efficiency of manual labour depend very closely on the part played by brain power. Of this all management is a form, and machinery itself is only another development of management. Those who are employed themselves become parts of a machine which, though arranged to suit their powers, or the terms on which their labour can be secured, does gradually, by selection and exercise, tend to modify the characters and capacities of men to suit its own requirements. This conduces to the suppression of industrial individuality amongst working men, and to the increase of helplessness—a result which, though most evident when the unit of business is large, is true of modern industry in all its shapes. On the connection between this helplessness and poverty it is hardly necessary to dwell; it is self-evident and continually recurs.

The consciousness which has come home to working-men of the comparatively weak position of the individual worker has been the main cause of trade unions, with many consequences which are seen developing day by day before our eyes.*

Combinations of workmen, if widespread and powerful, make it necessary for employers to combine also. On these lines a balance of power may be reached which may work fairly well. Under it we have organized men and organized masters, organized peace or organized war.

* Of these developments some are indeed so recent and so marked, and have produced such rapid changes, as to have, perhaps, rather blurred the picture of some of the trades we have studied; disturbing the "instantaneous" character of the "photograph" which we have tried to produce of the industrial conditions of to-day.

This is rather a strained condition of things at best; and hope of permanent good must be looked for in the gradual attainment by both masters and men of a knowledge of their own and their opponents' position in relation each to each and to the consumer whom they both serve, and with whom, be it said, rests the ultimate yea and nay of employment.

When the consequences of trade disputes become very serious, and particularly if the general interests of the community are palpably involved, interference in some shape follows. Public sentiment is aroused, newspapers espouse this side or that, arbitration is called for, and perhaps the Government intervenes as a peacemaker. Actual intervention rarely comes till both disputants are ready to welcome it, and coming thus is generally successful. A temporary success of this kind or the wearisome strain of hostile relationships has led in some cases to the establishment of a permanent board of arbitration or conciliation. This plan has yielded excellent results in the current adjustment of differences and maintenance of peace, and offers perhaps the best chance for the future as leading to the evolution of traditions of diplomacy which it may be hoped will gradually replace the recklessness of mere combat.

But these final results of systematic organization are not easily reached, and it may even be doubted whether, considering the entire field of industrial relations, this is the direction in which, on the whole, we are moving. The movement at any rate is very slow. Only certain trades seem capable of effective organization, and their number does not appear to grow larger. It is, I know, commonly supposed that under modern development trades become more and more suitable for elaborate organization, but I can find no sure ground for this belief.

Successful combination depends on possession by the men of some special qualification for the work they under-

take, which serves to protect them, at any rate for a time, from the competition of outside labour. The number of trades and of men to whom this applies does not tend to increase. Apprenticeship is dying out. Steadiness of character and amenability to discipline, rather than acquired skill, are the qualities increasingly demanded, and those selected for advancement on account of these qualities are "masters' men," taught by the masters what they require to know, and needing no assistance from any union in obtaining fair wages and regular employment.

It is to be observed, moreover, that the helplessness of the worker, whether unionist or non-unionist, shows itself not so much in rates of wages as in irregularity, or actual lack, of employment; and that combination, while usually able to cope successfully with many questions affecting the *conditions* of employment, is powerless to increase the *volume* of work—happy indeed if it does not diminish it. It is to be noted also that the efforts made by some unions to equalize earnings by a system of out-of-work benefit have not been very successful. Their principal object is to maintain rates of wages, and this they not infrequently accomplish, but with the practical result that the well-behaved and competent support the ill-behaved and incompetent; as well as, and even more than, the victims of mischance. Beyond this it must be said that rates of wages, although at times greatly affected by combination among the workers, are determined at bottom by general conditions, such as custom and the standard of life, and depend on subtle forms of competition which no combination can control or evade—on an economic atmosphere, in fact, which is itself the resultant of many causes. Among these causes combined action to raise and sustain the value of labour plays a considerable part, but other influences, as, for instance, climate and national character, go far more.

The connection between lack of organization and

insufficient remuneration is mainly indirect. A low scale of pay is found only with labour which can be easily replaced, and such labour lacks all the qualities which make organization feasible and successful. It is not ill-paid because unorganized so much as unorganized because of little real value. On the other hand, good pay is perfectly possible without the support of any combination. Individual strength, trustworthiness or intelligence give value to service even apart from the possession of special skill, and those who possess these qualifications may be even better able to make their own market successfully.

I do not undervalue the efficacy of much trade union action. Beyond questions of remuneration they have been particularly useful in reducing hours of labour and in checking the abuse of overtime; moreover, by giving expression to common aspirations they breathe life and spirit into the hearts of the men. But if trade unions try to extend their action beyond the limits of consent and seek to compel the adherence of all workers to one policy by the refusal of union men to work with non-unionists, the attempt is likely to be followed, and in some cases has been followed, by the "federation of free labour," or by the offer of substantial advantages by employers to non-union men. The sudden cessation of work being regarded as the main weapon of combination, and being sometimes used without much regard to the mischief done, masters very naturally seek to blunt its edge by offers of continuous employment, of profit-sharing, of cheap insurance, and of pensions in old age; and by so doing show how great is the additional value, in some employments at any rate, of work which is not subject to this risk of interference. Management has absolute need of a secure basis for its forecasts and calculations, and beyond this finds a further advantage, in the effect on the character of the work done, of a closer bond with those

who are employed, to say nothing of the perhaps sentimental, but not less real, value of pleasant relations with work-people which the spirit aroused by trade union policy often tends to impair. For these various advantages, and especially the first, the hirers of labour are willing to pay substantially.

It may, perhaps, be said that it is not till masters have experienced the rough side of union action that they learn to value free relations, and hence that either way it is to the unions that improvement is due. These considerations, however, tend to limit, and at times to undermine, the powers exerted by the unions. The part organized combination among the workers plays in securing a just balance of affairs is important, but it is in this light, as a modifying rather than as a controlling force, that it must be regarded.

The heightened struggle for existence, with its ups and downs of commercial inflation and contraction, causes more evils than we have here mentioned. They are, however, all compatible with a rising standard of comfort and a greater diffusion of wealth. Competition is a force that drives unceasingly. In order to reach and please the customer, use is made of every possible advantage. If machinery cheapens cost, then hand-labour must accept less money or lose its work entirely. The management which ruthlessly adapts itself to these hard circumstances is characterized as "sweating." The evils which result have been analysed in a previous volume. They affect employers as well as employed. Both suffer, and the advantage to the consumer is often illusory. Masters and men are alike ground down, while the public is defrauded by adulteration and bad workmanship.

Frequent bankruptcy is another product of this struggle, and by throwing men out of work is the cause of much industrial friction and consequent distress. So chronic is

this trouble that the forced sales of bankrupt stock may even be counted amongst the accredited methods of distribution.

Thus, to sum up, we find that the main characteristics of modern industry are the speculative forestalling of wants, a great complexity of operation and increased responsibility of management. The results are cheap and manifold products, a rising standard of life, and extended fields of industrial action; but connected with these undoubted advantages we have a string of serious evils, and it is not surprising that consciousness of them causes men to seek persistently for a remedy; all the more as they seem to be only the misbegotten offspring of prosperity. It may be that in ordinary times no very large proportion of the population are sufferers from these evils, but whatever their numbers, or to whatever extent their misfortunes may be traceable to their own fault, we cannot unheeding pass by on the other side.

CHAPTER II.

LONDON AS A CENTRE OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY.

LONDON has no single staple industry. We find in it no dominant trade or group of trades—no industrial feature corresponding, for instance, to the dependence of the great towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire upon the prosperity of the textile industries; of Newcastle on ship-building and engineering; of Middlesbrough on the iron trade; of Lyons upon silk; and of Chicago upon a progressive agriculture. London has no such specialized industrial life. Ship-building may leave the Thames; silk-weaving decline in Spitalfields; chair-making desert Bethnal Green; books be printed in Edinburgh or Aberdeen; and sugar-refining be killed by foreign fiscal policy; but the industrial activity of London shows no abatement. Individuals and individual trades may suffer, but her vitality and productive energy, stimulated by a variety of resources probably unequalled in their number and extent by those of any other city either ancient or modern, remain unimpaired. London is supreme not only in variety, but in total magnitude. The workers are numbered not only by thousands, but by hundreds of thousands, even almost by millions.

In regarding London as a whole, therefore, we are confronted by the many sidedness of its industrial life. The multiplicity of processes and trades arrests the attention, but we have difficulty in analysing the complex whole—in grasping the endless varieties of its component

parts. Not one trade alone is seen in operation, not two or three, but a multitude. Every branch and all the machinery of trade and industry are represented—banking and finance, manufacture, dealing, and distribution, and every form of public and private service. Thus, while tending often to over-specialize the skill of its individual workers, London maintains and develops a comprehensiveness that is almost magnificent in its catholicity and range.

This great variety is the outcome of many forces—the widening area covered by trade; the pressure of competition; the fresh applications to industry of the teachings of science, and the extending demands of a people that is learning constantly to turn the luxuries of the past into the necessities of the present. The story of the treasured silk stockings of Queen Elizabeth is not without significance, nor the fact that any errand-boy can carry in his pocket to-day the watch that comparative wealth alone could command some twenty years ago. In every direction new wants are being recognized, some pressing closely upon the productive power of the community, others suggesting only in dim outline new fields of demand that the future will fully reveal. In every direction new outlets are being opened up for the absorption of human energy, and—source of so many social and economic problems—new ways are being discovered by which this energy can be either economized or supplanted.

These varied changes lead to an altered relationship between many parts of the industrial whole, and the fresh adaptations necessary, even though they be signs of growth, not infrequently involve dislocation. It is this feature, indeed, combined with the difficulties to which it gives rise and the suffering with which it is frequently attended, rather than the creation of new fields of employment, that is often allowed to absorb the attention. Hardship is more dramatic than natural growth, and it is the instinct

of the popular mind to fix itself upon the more startling, and even upon the sadder tendencies of the times, rather than upon those that are more persistent and progressive—upon social and economic “faults,” rather than upon the lines of a gradual evolution.

But the fundamental fact of continuous development remains. Industrial life palpitates with youth and growth, and those would seem to err who, in pursuit of any ideal, would run the risk of stereotyping its forms or limiting the extent of its expansion.

So many branches of industry coming within the network of her operations, London is deeply concerned in this increasingly productive power of the race, and in the variety and elasticity of human demand. Sometimes we see her lagging behind, irresponsive to a potential demand that it only rested with her to make effective; at others swift to change, alert, leading, and initiating.

Continual variation and development must, however, be met constantly by a corresponding power and readiness of adaptation and response. The industrial tenure of places, as of persons, is essentially insecure. Even the development of a great city, tracing its origin to its accessibility, to the strength of its military position, or, it may be, partly to chance, does not ensure the permanent retention of more than a small proportion of the total of its industrial activities. Certain of its operations in distribution and in trading; all forms of service rendered to persons or groups of persons; all labour expended on permanent fixtures, such as buildings or streets, must, it is true, be necessarily carried on in its midst. But, in spite of the important influences of physical environment, only a small proportion of the whole field of productive industry is permanently assured to a given centre by any form of natural monopoly. In a certain number of cases, especially when the commodity is bulky, or perishable, or when it is normally produced for immediate consumption, the local producer is

guaranteed to some extent against outside competition, in any case as regards the later stages of manufacture, since he tends to be at once the most economical, as well as the most convenient source of supply: London, for instance, is less likely to import coffins than gold-leaf, and loaves of bread than corn and flour. But in a few cases only does the locality of a demand determine also the locality of an industry, and the great bulk of the trades of London remain liable to displacement.

We may ask, therefore, with reference to the larger part of its productive industry: how is London able to secure the necessary supply of persons and of plant; of the materials and all the forms of subsidiary equipment that enable it, not only to hold its own successfully in the competition that presses within its own borders, but also, dependent as it is upon distant sources for almost all material used, to place its finished commodities in a thousand forms upon a thousand markets? What are the special advantages of London as a centre of trade and manufacture?

The first advantage that London possesses is its own population of between four and five millions, providing a range of effective demand far exceeding that of any other centre. Up to the present time, moreover, this source of demand has tended constantly to grow, being reinforced by increased facilities for locomotion and transport, and for the remittal of money, which have made London a source of wholesale, and even of retail, supply for the whole country. For, in some measure, the Metropolis fills a position in relation to the country at large analogous to that which small provincial towns occupy in relation to their neighbouring villages: it is a great purchasing market for those resident elsewhere. Provincial dealers who buy to sell again; manufacturers, who buy material to be made up in some other

form; provincial consumers; and visitors from every country go to swell the effective demand of London. For some, the shops and stores provide the diffused and varied display out of which every taste and every purse can be accommodated; for others, the markets are concentrated in recognized localities in the warehouses and showrooms of the particular trade, as in Curtain Road for many classes of furniture, in the near neighbourhood of St. Paul's for all forms of drapery; and in Hatton Garden for diamonds and jewellery; while in other cases, as for timber, leather, corn and wool, there are fixed times of public sale in special centres of exchange.

The economic position of London is still further strengthened by the fact that it is not only an unrivalled national emporium and world-market, but is also the Mother-city of the Kingdom and of the Empire. London is the centre, moreover, not only of the Imperial Government and of the Judiciary, but also of banking and finance, both national and international. It is in London that the agents-general for the great Colonies, as well as the chief business agencies, and official commercial representatives of foreign countries are found, their presence illustrating the fact that it is the recognized national centre, not only of government but of trade. Nearly all important provincial manufacturing firms also, either through a London branch or the medium of a recognized agent, find it expedient to make special provision for the distribution of some part of their products in the London market, and, even if in some cases their presence indicates increased competition with London industries, they in any case assist in perfecting its varied stock of merchandise, and so in strengthening its attractive force.

In spite, therefore, of all tendencies towards the elimination of the unnecessary middle-man, which involves also that of the unnecessary middle-market, London still holds a unique position in the variety of ways in which

it acts as a centre of distribution for home, colonial, and foreign products. Everything can be bought in London, and therefore everyone comes to buy, and the Metropolitan manufacturer himself finds his advantage as buyer as well as seller in this great market. For London is as much an emporium for raw materials coming from all parts of the world, as for finished products, and in addition, the manufacturer can readily supply himself with every appliance, machine or tool that may be required for his work.

Labour also of every kind can be easily hired. One has usually but to hold up the finger to secure whatever men are needed, and although much of London labour is unskilled and degraded, much of it is of the greatest excellence, and is being constantly recruited from among the best workmen that the country can produce.

So marked a feature is this excellence and abundance that we find an external demand not only for London labour through the medium of London products, but also not infrequently for the immediate industrial services of its workmen. Skilled men are asked for to plan, supervise, and carry out work in all directions, and for exceptional service no distance is found to be too great.

Finally, for facilities of distribution and of transport by sea and land, the position of London is unequalled, and the circle of its economic advantages is completed by the fact that it is the greatest port as well as the greatest city of the world.

Such considerations, together with the general interest of London, "the Mecca of the Anglo-Saxon race"—its leadership in amusement and fashion; its historical associations; the fascination and glitter, even the gloom, of its hurrying life—all go to swell its attractive force, and to strengthen its position as a centre of trade and manufacture. Thus London has a unique general attractiveness, as well as great resources. Its industrial position is both the cause and the effect of its wealth, and it illustrates in the form of

a great community the truth of the ancient saying that riches come where wealth and all that wealth commands abound.

On the other hand, the disadvantages are grave, and, if London had to start again, would prove insuperable. Modern industry is largely dependent for economy on cheap coal and cheap iron, and London has neither; or it may demand ample supplies of running water and fresh air, and again London has neither; or light and space, and these also are either not available or can be obtained only at a prohibitive cost in rent; or low wages, which indeed are often paid, but for which indifferent labour alone can be secured in return, since in London good workmen command very high wages.*

A further natural disadvantage is to be found in the physical deterioration of Londoners for which only partial compensation is to be found in the modern athletic revival, and in the influx of strong arms and firm nerves from the Provinces. If left to its own natural increase, the force of London would almost inevitably decay, and, except in connection with a continued increase of population, it is not easy to see how the refreshing stream from outside sources could flow freely. It will be seen, however, that in this disadvantage—in the actual deterioration of London-born labour—is found one source of the undesirable economic strength possessed in such trades as depend on the supply of ill-paid labour.

Lastly, we should perhaps add, although it is a drawback

* The comparison of the *real* wages of the London workman with those paid in provincial towns is a complicated problem, owing to the local variations in certain necessary items of expenditure, especially rent, for which allowance must be made. The wages paid, however, except in certain low-paid trades, are almost always higher in London, and this is a consideration that tells against the London manufacturer. A conspicuous instance is found in the case of the litho-printers, for whom the London rate is 40s; for Belfast, 35s; for Birmingham, 32s 6d; and for Leeds and Cardiff 30s, in all cases for a week of fifty-four hours. On the other hand, it must be remembered that a comparison of the real cost of labour cannot be made by a comparison of rates of wages. It would be necessary also to compare efficiency.

more than counterbalanced by the size and the immediate neighbourhood of London itself, the fact that London is surrounded by comparatively non-populous districts. Beyond the twelve-mile radius, all of which is, strictly speaking, a Metropolitan and suburban area, the district is primarily residential and agricultural, neither populous nor manufacturing. As market-counties, Sussex, Hertfordshire, Berkshire and extra-metropolitan Kent and Surrey, cannot be compared with the great manufacturing counties of the North and the Midlands.

It is evident that the economic hold of London will be weak when fuel, iron or steel enters largely as an item in the cost of production; when the materials used are from bulk or weight expensive to move, unless the final commodity be fragile or quickly perishable; or when the processes of the trade require much space, either of structure or open ground.

Thus, under existing conditions, London can never become an important centre of the iron and steel trades, or of the textile industries, or for the production of chemicals. The economic influences at work will tend also to banish from London an increasing proportion of such work as the dressing of stone for building; carpentering and joinery in their earlier stages, especially when the work is straightforward and executed to well-known patterns; ship-building in all its branches; mat-making, originally a London textile industry; carriage-building; perhaps also printing; and we find that, largely on account of rental charges, the Bermondsey tan yards are gradually giving way to those of the Provinces.*

But it may be noted that, in certain trades, even though the dominant influences are adverse, there are special kinds

* Apart from questions of fiscal policy the general economic conditions affecting the strength of foreign and colonial competition in the London markets will necessarily be similar in kind to those that determine the strength of provincial competition, in the former cases carriage becoming generally, though by no means always, a more important item.

of work which tend to be retained by London. In some cases this is explained by the necessity for prompt execution of the work, or when, from its artistic or complicated character, the direct and constant supervision of the buyer or his agent is desirable. It happens also sometimes when great excellence is demanded. Thus, we find that, while Birmingham makes much jewellery from well-known patterns, London is the centre of the finer work that is marked by originality of design; that the best carriages are still made, and made throughout, in London; that the best surgical instruments and the best cutlery are secured by the combination of London workmanship and Sheffield steel; that the best scientific instruments, the best work in stained glass windows, and, in spite of the increase in the number of provincial factories, the best organs, continue to be made in London. In all these instances it is the superior excellence of the work of the London artisan which maintains his position. It is also said that one reason why there is no room for apprentices in many of the large joinery shops of London is that the best work alone is executed there.

It may also be noted that London is largely a centre at which the later processes of manufacture are carried out. An illustration of this may be seen in the fact that although nearly fifteen thousand persons are enumerated in the somewhat complex section of paper manufactures, only one paper-mill is found within the metropolitan area, while envelope and paper-bag making, for instance, are considerable London industries. Another example is that of the "cloth-workers," who are represented in London by a small but highly skilled group of cloth-shrinkers. A more significant aspect of this is seen, however, in the tendency for London to become a place where parts made elsewhere are put together—to become, in other words, a "fitting shop." Of this we have illustrations in the importation of carriage wheels or parts of wheels

from America; or of the roller desks in sections, from the same country; and it is further instanced by many "London watches," and other articles that acquire in this way the stamp of London make. We may note too the exaggerated complaints that the London joiner and plumber are becoming simply the "fitters" of goods made elsewhere.

This tendency is the normal accompaniment of industrial life in a great centre of distribution and consumption. As consumption is the last stage in the history of a commodity, so we may perhaps regard "dealing" as a kind of penultimate process; and with this, of which London is for many industries the head-quarters, the last stages of manufacture are often closely associated.

Finally, in its connection with trades mainly located elsewhere, the place of London as a "repairing shop" must be mentioned. The most important examples of this are found in the metal trades and among the riverside industries connected with ship-building.

In most of the fields of employment we have mentioned, London work is in a very marked way supplementary to or dependent upon that done in the Provinces. In other directions Metropolitan trades are more independent and self-sustained, but it is less easy to indicate the general characteristics of those trades over which the hold of London is strong than of those over which it is weak.

The position is necessarily strongest when the convenience of meeting a local demand by local sources of supply is exceptionally great, as in baking, brewing, and the printing of newspapers.*

* Perhaps the only productive industry that falls indubitably under this heading is baking. The connection of all others, even when it is closest, as in wholesale clothing, is accidental, and not due to any necessary local relationship. Even in baking, the supplying of London with bread from large extra-metropolitan bakeries is quite within the range of possible developments, and a large amount of beer now drunk in London comes from outside, some being brewed in Germany.

There are certain other trades also in which, when makers have by special reputation established some control of the market, the position of London is especially strong, as is apt indeed to be the case with all trades that, no matter from what cause, have been once established in any given locality.

Thus we find a large group of trades in which the strong position of London seems to be explained, not by any particular fitness other than that of nearness to a large market, but rather by a gradual process, mainly unnoticed, which tends to follow when the beginnings of a trade have been made in a locality that has proved, on experiment, to be favourable. *J'y suis, j'y reste*, might be taken as their motto. They have held their own in the stress of competition, and, having established their roots, have all the strength that possession gives. Among such trades are the following: clock-making; piano making; basket making; saddle and harness making; portmanteau and leather bag making; and, in spite of partial withdrawal, carriage building.

The hold of London, again, is especially strong in certain industries that are largely dependent upon an abundant supply of low paid subsidiary labour, some of the most conspicuous instances being drawn from those trades in which female labour is largely employed. In the absence of any single staple trade in which women are engaged, the road is left clear in London for the expansion of many trades which otherwise would either not have flourished there or would have been carried on under different conditions of manufacture. But the prevailing circumstances of life and labour in London have ensured the supply of a large quantity of such low-priced labour. It is always available; much of it is young, and cheap; much of it is over-specialized and cheap; and unfortunately the conditions of employment of male labour not infrequently illustrate the same—from many points of view regrettable—strength of the economic position of London.

Thus, since it is able to supply the large proportion of unskilled, semi-skilled, and over-specialized labour that they need, London may be regarded as being especially adapted to the following trades: the cheap furniture trade; the ready-made clothing and wholesale boot and shoe trades; rope and sack-making; rubber work; fur-work; paper and cardboard box-making; and envelope-making.

Finally, one small group must be mentioned in which the prevailing conditions are exceptional, since in these cases the position of London is strengthened by the fact that it does to a great extent provide the raw material needed. The chief illustrations of this are found in the manufacture of soap, glue, and size; it is also largely true of tanning and leather dressing; and of the London glass trade, in which old broken glass is almost exclusively used.

What we have said will serve to indicate some of the salient features of the industrial life of London: its vitality and variety; its expansiveness and its instability; its economic attractiveness and the fierce play upon it of a wide-spread competition; the strength of the conflict within its own borders; its vigour and its dependence. This chapter will serve as an introduction to the study of some of the more particular phases of that life: the localization of its trades; the systems of production under which they are carried on; the characteristic features of the labour employed; the training of the workers and the renewal of their supply; the problem of associated effort for the maintenance alike of efficiency and peace; and the influences that make for regularity or irregularity of employment.

CHAPTER III.

THE LOCALIZATION AND DIFFUSION OF TRADES IN LONDON.

IN the preceding chapter we have examined some of the general characteristics of London as an industrial centre. In the present one we pass to the more special question of the localization or diffusion of particular trades, and ask why it is that, while some occupations are concentrated in fairly well-defined areas, others are scattered throughout the whole Metropolis.

It must be noted at the outset, that the localization of a trade does not involve a corresponding localization of the homes of those who are engaged in it. On the contrary, place of residence and place of work are steadily becoming increasingly independent of, and even remote from, each other.

While the most striking example of this fact is afforded by the difference between the day and night census of the City—301,384 as compared with 37,694—it is clear that in this remarkable divergence we have only a conspicuous illustration of a widespread modern tendency. The probability that the City banker or merchant will live in Kent or Kensington, and the City clerk in Camberwell or Crouch End, finds its counterpart in the influences and facilities that are inducing many operatives of every class to live in the outer ring of London, with the certainty of lower rents and the hope of better hygienic conditions.

But, while the workers scatter, the fact of economic localization remains. It may, indeed, be argued that in large centres of population it will become a more conspicuous feature, for while the migration of the family remains necessarily difficult and costly, the movement of the individual, to and fro, is constantly becoming cheaper and simpler. The advantages of localization are thus secured by an increasing number of trades, the members of which may play and sleep many miles distant from the area in which they work, and the individual worker becomes, to an increasing extent, the relatively mobile element in modern industrial life.

The localization of a great industry tends to be essentially organic in its nature, often developing, if the market supplied be sufficiently large and expansive, a great complexity of form, and illustrating in a given area the same interdependence of parts that national and even international industries illustrate, in other aspects, on a larger and grander scale.

The economic advantages of localization largely consist in grouping around the main processes of an industry those allied and subsidiary trades and processes which, combined with adequate means of distribution, go to secure the maximum of aggregate efficiency. A trade atmosphere and a trade environment tend also to secure to such a locality certain advantages in training, a consideration that has a heightened importance where hereditary aptitudes have been developed, and when the power of the family and of the family tradition in the trade is strong. These advantages may in certain cases, however, be counteracted by the mischievous controlling influence that is not infrequently exercised by the skilled employees of such localized trades over the admission of new members and over the prevailing standards of efficiency.

One of the most interesting examples of localization that

London presents is that existing in and around Fleet Street, where there are found not only newspaper offices and printing firms, but nearly every branch of allied service, from the depôt of the type-founder and printing-machine maker to advertising and wholesale news agencies; the whole affording a conspicuous instance of concentration and development.

Another example, with less striking historical associations, is found in the East London furniture trade. Localization in this case also is presented in a highly organic form, the component parts making an economic whole, which, for the production of certain classes of commodities, is of unrivalled efficiency. This group of trades illustrates also that excessive specialization of individual aptitudes which, under certain conditions, tends to accompany division of labour.

But, although the foregoing are instances of highly developed localization, neither those mentioned, nor any other trades in London, present it in such an excessive or disproportionate form as to involve for London as an industrial area the same kind of economic weakness that excessive specialization involves for the individual. From this danger London is saved by the variety of its industries.

The precise localization of the printing and furniture trades, and of many others that might be mentioned, finds an explanation, not in any inherent advantages possessed by the particular areas in which they flourish, but rather in chance. A favourable start has been followed by a gradual development, adding to the strength of the trade and securing, in an increasing degree, the advantages of connection and efficiency that concentration tends to ensure. In the absence of any particular unfitness, the locality gradually acquires a special suitability: a great market is established; a tradition formed, and the associations of a trade dominate and give character to a whole district.

But it is sometimes possible to indicate more special

explanations of localization. We find, for instance, the packing-case makers in the City; the carriage builders near the West End; and the heavy van-builders mainly in East and South-East London, where most of the heavy carting is done—all attracted to their respective districts by the wish to secure the advantages of nearness to an appropriate market, while light vans, in the absence of any localizing influence, may be cited as an instance of products that are made in almost every quarter. Envelope making, pushed from the neighbourhood of Cannon Street by increasing rents, is now chiefly located in Southwark, still close to the centre of business correspondence and of export; and, as instances of remoter causation, we find brush-making still in that part of London in which it was first established when the materials for brooms could be cut from the surrounding marshes; and watch-making and silk-weaving in the neighbourhoods of Clerkenwell and Spitalfields where the foreign craftsmen settled long ago without the City walls. The grouping on the outer ring of London of manufactures, such as of soap or chemicals, that require, relatively to the numbers employed, large premises, may be necessary in conformity to municipal regulations, but is likewise explained by the double necessity of avoiding high rentals and of securing the easy command of cheap means of transport, and the importance of the latter consideration in many trades is further illustrated by the proximity of most of the box-makers' factories to the London canals. With riverside industries, the physical conditions—that is, the actual facts of the water-way and the docks—afford the main explanation. These industries supply by far the greatest instance of localization. And the importance of the river in the life of London, though it is often a source of pride, is not fully appreciated.

In the above examples one or more of the following special influences has been mainly operative in determining localization: proximity to an appropriate market; accessibility to suitable means of transport; variations of rent in different

parts of London ; and physical necessity. In every instance the supply of the labour required has been assumed. While, however, in many of the above cases this has been largely drawn from outlying districts, in another group of trades we find that localization is mainly determined by the necessity of being able to draw upon the locality itself for large supplies of low-paid labour. This may, indeed, be regarded as the proximate cause of the expansion of some of the most distinctive manufacturing industries of East and South London—furniture, boots and shoes, caps, clothing, paper bags and cardboard boxes, matches, jam, &c. In several of these trades female labour is largely employed, and they are found, therefore, in the neighbourhood of districts largely occupied by “unskilled” or semi-skilled workmen, or by those whose employment is most discontinuous in character, since it is chiefly the daughters, wives, and widows of these men who turn to labour of this kind.

Outside the range of manufacture, from a variety of causes, many examples of localization are found : lawyers, for instance, naturally gather together in the neighbourhood of the Law Courts, and doctors’ plates are frequent in particular streets close to the quarters of fashionable London ; engineering firms seem to be taking possession of Queen Victoria Street, and bicycle makers of Holborn Viaduct, while builders’ ironmongers, the modern representatives of an ancient movement of “ironmongers from Ironmongers’ Lane and Old Jurie”^{*} are still found in Upper Thames Street.

In the City itself we find other and still more striking examples, but in many respects the position of the City is unique as the centre and core of London. The Stock Exchange and Lloyds ; the great produce centres of Mark and Mincing Lanes ; and Paternoster Row, are among the many important examples, all with their appropriate

^{*} Stow : *Survey of London*, 1598 (Ed. 1832, p. 31).

settings of offices, warehouses and show-rooms within the City. But the greatest instance of all is found in the localization within its borders of the banking system of the Empire—of Bagehot's symbolic "Lombard Street." In this we have an instance of concentration so profoundly important in its practical bearings and so penetrating in its effects, that even the chances of employment of the poorest sempstress or casual labourer of East London are connected, by a chain of sequence that it would be easy to trace, with the stability of a few associations established almost within a stone's throw of the Bank of England.

To the wide-spread rule of concentration retail trade is usually an exception, for the retail distributor must be ubiquitous and suited in every case to his more immediate surroundings. Thus we have the small "general shop" of the poor back street; the prosperous glitter and exuberant show of the main thoroughfares of industrial or suburban districts; the substantial establishments of the City; and the more delicate catering of Regent Street and Piccadilly. This determination of the character of the shop by the character of its neighbourhood is illustrated in every branch of distribution—drapers, hosiers, tailors, hatters, milliners, &c.—and the same relationship is found when many branches are combined in a single undertaking, as in large stores.* Shops, however, are but the industrial garniture of cities. Sometimes, in quite exceptional cases, they may indicate forms of local productive activity, but in

* The influence of the residential neighbourhood is reflected in many other directions—in, for instance, lodging-houses, hotels and public-houses, and in the distribution of members of the medical profession if general practitioners. It should be noted that the City is in this, as in so many other respects, exceptional; its retail shops—tailors, boot-makers, hatters, jewellers, restaurants, &c.—reflecting the demands, not of its residents, but of its immense day population. Certain streets and particular firms that have established a special reputation are, in a somewhat analogous way, exceptional to the extent to which they are able to attract a demand from those living in other parts.

no trade can they be assumed to do so. Boots, clothes, and furniture, for instance, sold in West London shops are not infrequently the products of East London industry.

The local variations in the quality alike of the products and of the labour of the same trade must be mentioned in conclusion. Though there are numerous exceptions, and though the greater cheapness of the commodity does not always indicate a lower average of remuneration for the operative, yet in many important trades, the general rule holds that the condition of the worker tends to vary with the character and quality of the product. Owing to the higher standard of excellence required, those who produce more directly and more exclusively for the wealthier classes of the community are likely to pay or receive a higher rate of wages than those who produce for a poorer, more mixed, or more distant market.

The effects of this general rule might be illustrated in several ways, but they are, perhaps, sufficiently reflected in the comparison of the social condition of the members of the trades mentioned in the following table, of the contrasts shown in which, however, they by no means afford the sole explanation :—*

Percentage of crowded and not crowded in certain trades in East and West London.

DISTRICTS.	TAILORS.		BOOT & SHOE MAKERS.		CABINET MAKERS.		HAT AND CAP MAKERS.	
	Crowded.	Not Crowded.	Crowded.	Not Crowded.	Crowded.	Not Crowded.	Crowded.	Not Crowded.
East London	52½	47½	56	44	55	45	48	52
West	28	72	33	67	34	66	22†	78†
All London	39½	60½	44½	55½	45	55	29	71

* See Comparisons: I. Crowding and Apparent Poverty. p. 4.

† Including North London.

In the following chapter the manufacturing industries of London will be considered with special reference to the system of production followed. The question of localization thus falls somewhat into the background, but its effects on both system of work and condition of worker, especially as regards the nature of the market, the efficiency of the individual, and the specialization of individual skill, will be found to be of marked importance in certain trades.

CHAPTER IV.

LARGE AND SMALL SYSTEMS OF PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT.

To some extent the system of production followed in a particular industry is determined by its general character—by the nature of the material upon which labour is employed; by the number of successive or concurrent processes required to yield the final product; by the degree in which direct control of labour is called for and opportunities exist for its advantageous direction; by the size of the market supplied; and by the extent to which machinery, mechanical appliances, and special plant can be utilized. But, although such considerations may suggest the system under which any particular industry is likely to be carried on, they cannot be relied on to tell us definitely what it will actually be. The method of production may be partially determined by local and non-essential conditions. And the character of the work may itself change.

In London, all systems are found. There are “works,” where, in addition to machinery and an extensive plant, much subsidiary labour is employed on purely manual processes; factories of which the characteristic features are the application of “power” and the association of human labour with mechanical appliances; and workshops, large and small, down to the room of the isolated home-worker.

Thus, we find chemical works, soapworks, dyeworks, engineering works, &c., representing trades in which the large system has conquered, and in which, therefore, such questions as the multiplication of the small workshop and the position of the home-worker have no place; while in

jam-making, candle-making, rubber manufacture, railway carriage building, cloth letterpress binding, envelope making, and printing we find the factory system also adopted, though in very different forms, both as regards scale of operations and conditions of employment.

In other trades, the conflict of rival systems is more conspicuously exemplified, but we see the tendency of the factory system to prevail when machinery can be profitably employed, as in scientific and electrical instrument making, watch-making, rope-making, tin-canister making, and in some branches of the pottery trades, where "the advantage is with the large maker who can use steam power," and it is so even in the sack and tarpaulin trade, in which, from a combination of causes, work is tending to be concentrated in the factories.

Others again are on the border-line. In brush-making, for instance, since but little machinery is used, and there are several convenient stages in production, the lighter branches of the trade are most frequently carried on in the home; while, in the heavier branches, in which not only can the subdivision of the work be pushed further, but in which machinery can be more extensively used, the factory system is gaining ground. It may be further noted that much of the polishing—an independent and final process done by hand—still remains a home employment in both branches of this trade.

In a certain number of cases, even though little or no machinery be employed, the general character of the trade tends to fix it in the workshop. This may be due to certain qualities of the material used, such as its great value, dangerous character, or bulkiness, or to the economies secured by concentration of management and subdivision of labour. Instances are found in silver-smiths' and jewellers' work; in gold-beating; in the manufacture of drugs; in private carriage building; in some sections of the clothing and many of the wood-

working trades. And here, again, some industries—well illustrated in clothing and wood-working, in which the different systems compete for mastery—still rest on the border-line. In such trades the greatest practical interest of the moment is found, because it is by them that some of the gravest problems are presented.

It appears, then, that every system has its field, and that none can be pronounced good or bad in itself, either on social or on economic grounds, the real satisfactoriness or the reverse of the conditions of employment turning on a much wider range of economic considerations than on size of the working unit, or on system of production. The variations in size have, however, a real importance, even though we are unable to draw an exact line of demarcation between what is meant by “large” and “small.” The application of the qualifying term varies between trade and trade, and in most cases large undertakings shade down by imperceptible degrees to small, so that exact classification from this point of view becomes entirely arbitrary. In a general comparison, however, of the larger system, be it in the shape of factory or workshop, with the small, it would seem that the balance of general advantage rests with the former. On the economic side it affords greater opportunities for using improvements in methods of production; either by the introduction of machinery and the application of scientific methods, or by the more effective subdivision of labour. It secures advantage in the employment of many forms of useful subsidiary service, such as clerical staff, door-keepers, &c.; and it makes greater enterprise and bolder initiative possible. The social advantages of the large system are:—Better sanitary and hygienic conditions of employment; fuller publicity; completer registration; and more regular inspection. And on both social and economic grounds it has the two-fold advantage of tending to secure increased

regularity of employment and greater uniformity within each trade as regards rates of pay and hours of work. By this the organization of labour is made more easy on the part of the men, while the employer secures a more certain basis on which to prepare estimates and enter into contracts—advantages which should tend to make employment more steady, and minimize the evils of insensate competition.

On the other hand, as has already been pointed out in Chapter I., small establishments are more elastic, responding more quickly to the needs of the hour, or perishing with less disturbance if they fail to respond. They can rest their action on a closer personal touch between masters and men and between producer and consumer, and in these ways balance to some extent the great economies and advantages of the larger system. The result of this is seen in the vigorous vitality of the small system in a large number of London trades. It must be admitted in addition that for many trades small workshops offer the only efficient training school.

The extent to which greater regularity of employment will be secured by the large system depends on the amount of working capital and, in particular on the proportion of it that is fixed, especially of such capital as depreciates in value by disuse; but perhaps still more on the extent to which the character of the trade makes it possible to work for “stock” in slack times. The whole question of machinery and its effects on employment is involved in this argument.

The introduction of machinery in any trade may lead gradually to a complete change of process, converting, it may be, a home industry into one that is mainly carried on in the factory. Such a change tends, as a rule, to weaken the London position, on account of increased rental charges, and may even result in moving the trade so affected to provincial centres. The boot and shoe trade, in some of

its branches, illustrates the operation of this tendency.* And, generally, it may be stated that transitions to the factory system are unfavourable to London, except, perhaps, when the factory is content to supply the parts or the prepared materials used by the individual worker or small workshop, as is done by the sawmills in the furniture trades; or when much of the labour appropriate to the machinery used is low-paid and abundant, as is that required in the tin-canister and wire-rope factories. The effects of the extended use of machinery on London industry are, however, determined largely by the ways in which it alters the relationship between the various items that make up the total expenses of production.

Thus since the introduction of machinery diminishes the extent to which wages enter as an element of the expenses of production, this altered relationship may, under certain conditions, help to strengthen the position of the London trade. In those cases, for instance, in which the relative positions of the London and provincial employer turn largely, not on differences of system, but on differences in rates of wages paid, a previously adverse position may even be turned in favour of London by the increased economy in production secured by the more effective use of machinery. Some branches of printing are instances of trades so circumstanced.

Or, again, it sometimes happens that bold expenditure and the extensive introduction of machinery may even re-habilitate a London industry, the additional strength in competition far outweighing such normally adverse London conditions as high rental charges. Instances of this are seen in the case of gutta-percha stopper making, in which the importation of the German hand-made article has

* The temporary character of the effects of the strike of 1890 in this trade is probably to a great extent due to the economic difficulty of high rent, that the provision of the workshops asked for would have involved. (By a mistake in Vol. III., page 21, it was stated that no strike had occurred.)

been almost completely arrested by the equipment of a London factory; and in that of dyeing, in which much of the trade is being recovered from the Provinces, where the advantage had consisted mainly in having been beforehand in the application of machinery and scientific methods.

The extending use of machinery has resulted in an enormous gain to the community as a whole, and will doubtless continue to do so, yet in certain cases and in individual trades some of the most painful problems of modern industrial life are due to the difficulty and hardship arising from the dislocation that has followed on its application. The way in which mechanical aids in production affect the character of labour—diminishing or increasing individual efficiency and altering the elements of efficiency itself—must also be noted, as well as the effect of large as compared with small methods of work on the position of the individual worker.

The more impersonal relationship between employers and employed under the large system is apt to introduce a sharper division of duties. The routine; the disciplinary regulations; as well as the actual numbers employed, serve, undoubtedly, to prevent the heads of large firms from having much personal contact with the members of their staff, and this is especially true of occupations in which employment is normally discontinuous, as it is in most branches of the building trade. It must, however, be said that the character of the relationship existing between employers and employed is much more important than its closeness; that it is far more essential that the prevailing tone should be friendly than that intercourse should be intimate or frequent; and that much may be done to show consideration and forethought that will demonstrate the care and goodwill of employers to all in their service, even though they be known personally to but a few. On the

other hand, there is a certain element of danger in the exclusive control of labour by subordinates, owing partly to the diminished sense of moral responsibility that they are likely to feel. A man will often impose a condition or exact a return for another that he would refrain from, if acting directly for himself. Large business corporations tend to have no conscience, and this non-moral relationship is undoubtedly more apt to prevail in the case of management by deputy than by the actual employer. But it is only a danger, and is in no sense a condition of the large system of employment. Statements, therefore, which, referring to the factory system, describe the man as the slave of the machine, and the manager or foreman as a universal tyrant are in need of many qualifications.

Under present conditions, moreover, it must be admitted that regular association with a large and firmly established business undertaking, even though it be under exacting conditions and for small pay, may compare not unfavourably with the position of many independent home-workers. Perhaps no industrial lot is more sad than that of the solitary worker, making for an uncertain and unknown market—his only master the need to live. Both conditions are forms of industrial servitude, and both involve certain evils, but the latter is on the whole the less desirable.

There is no necessary fixity in the system followed by the individual worker. The home-worker, for instance, is the potential occupier of a small workshop; and any small workshop may become, if management be successful and conditions favourable, a large centre of employment. There is a tendency in most trades towards such a change in industrial status, and in these cases fixity is probably a sign of economic weakness. We are led to ask, therefore, why the small system, in one or more of its various forms, persistently prevails in certain trades to so large an extent?

Although in considering this question no very close

analysis of those working under the small system is necessary, the four following component classes must be distinguished:—

(1) The small maker, who employs labour, and, either in his own home or in a workshop, produces commodities made from his own material.

(2) The master man who employs labour as above, but on material supplied either by some superior employing firm or by some intermediary.

(3) The home-maker, who works by himself on his own material.

(4) The home-worker, who works by himself on material supplied as in No. 2.

The chief motive that leads to the multiplication of the small employers of both the above classes, Nos. 1 and 2, and of the home-maker, No. 3, is the greater freedom and independence that these changes of status secure—or are expected to secure. Closely allied to this is the motive of hope that springs from possibilities. As a wage-earner the range of earnings is fixed to within at least a few shillings per week, but as an employer there is no such narrow limit. Profits may be added to remuneration for labour expended, and, if success attend effort, a large income and complete change of social position may in time result. The hopeful attractiveness of these chances is often not exhausted until there have been many attempts and many failures.

In the case of home-makers and home-workers the motive of independence is closely connected with that of convenience, especially in the case of women with household duties to perform.* The preference for home-work is

* It may be observed that this form of convenience, which is mainly the free selection of the working hours, is not incompatible with workshop and even factory employment where little machinery is used, and payment is by the piece. An example of this is seen in the hatters' furriers. The factories are opened at a fixed hour in the morning, but the women come in when they like, the work being given out over-night.

frequently strengthened by the ability to requisition the services of other members of the family. When this is the case the domestic workshop springs into existence, and we have industries, as in some branches of the furrier's trade, where the family may almost be regarded as the working unit.

The attractiveness of what are termed "supplementary earnings" must also be mentioned as a motive explaining the prevalence of many forms of home employment. Women as a rule are supplementary wage-earners, in the sense of not providing a full maintenance, and although many are obliged to continue work even when married, there is a large amount of quasi-voluntary employment, especially among those who can work at home. The few shillings earned in this way may, unless they sap the energies of the husband and decrease his contribution to the common purse, add much to the pleasures of life in the case of the individual family. But it is this form of employment that to no inconsiderable extent intensifies the competition among those who are entirely dependent upon their own exertions, and may have others to support.

Something akin to despair may, on the other hand, be the actuating motive, especially in the case of the "homemaker." If, when direct employment cannot be obtained, a few shillings can be raised to buy the necessary materials, and if tools have not been pawned, men turn to making things at home, trusting to a sale of their product in whatever market is open to them at the week's end.

And, finally, a love of freedom, perhaps perverted, explains the existence of many of the same class. These are men who are smart and unsteady, who work in rushes, and who,—at times working at home with feverish energy through days of abnormal length, and, at others perhaps, taking a spell with some employer who will put up with their irregularities for the sake of their cleverness—will, later on, drop out from both ranks till the money

they have earned is all spent. The mode of life of such men is necessarily harmful, and those of them who make and sell in any open market that offers generally do so as weak competitors, becoming centres of undercutting and of disorganization in the trade to which they belong.

Of the economic conditions that favour the small system of production, the most important is the possibility of starting with very little capital. In the cases of the small master man or the home-worker (Nos. 2 and 4) who may wish to extend their operations, or of the wage-earner wishing to start in one of these capacities, the ability to give or procure a guarantee against loss or misappropriation of material committed to their care will be the main requirement. The expenses of industry will under these circumstances be small, and capital will be only necessary for this indirect and reserved use. But in the case of the small independent employer and the home-maker (Nos. 1 and 3) the command of some capital for the purchase of the material used will be necessary.

When only a very little initial capital is required in order to commence business "on one's own account," the conditions are apt to be altogether too favourable to the multiplication of the small man. The cabinet-maker, for instance, can start operations, albeit inadequately and insecurely, with only £2 or £3 in hand, and in the case of fish curers, makers of cheap magic-lanterns and toys, of sweet stuffs, ginger beer and many other things, an even smaller capital will suffice.

Other determining circumstances are found in the nature of the market. If, in a trade in which little capital is required, the market be large, the demand fairly constant, and the buyers easily accessible, and if the practice of the market be to buy, either on order, or from chance producers offering for cash, then in that market will the small producer find his opportunity. By far the most important of such markets are wholesale, that is, when the

small maker produces "for the trade," and not for sale direct to the consumer. But it may be noted that the knowledge possessed by the small maker "to the trade" that enables him to get a footing, not infrequently involves the somewhat unscrupulous use of information obtained as a wage-earner. Thus we are told that in the wire-workers' trade the garret-masters frequently approach customers of the firm they had previously worked for, and offer goods at a considerably lower price. In this way either the order is obtained, or, after the customer has informed the firm of the lower price at which he can secure what he wants, the firm in its turn tells the workmen of the new competition, and prices and wages tend downwards all round. This operation is said to be one of the chief causes of the continued reduction in the prices of "repeated" orders. Then if the small man does not succeed on his own account, he, to quote from our notes of evidence of a wire-worker (wage-earner), "again seeks employment, cursing the bad pay and every bad condition for which he and his class are chiefly responsible."

A large retail market may serve as well as a wholesale one when the commodity offered is something that meets a large and indiscriminating demand; when the worth of the guarantee of the seller can be easily estimated by the chance consumer, or when the exchange value of the article is so small as to make its intrinsic merits a consideration of secondary importance; and especially when the commodity is portable. Under these conditions the hawking of goods in the streets, or from house to house, tends to prevail, and hawked goods in London, outside the range of eatables, are to a great extent the product of the small workshop or the home. Instances of this are found in some of the poorest branches of the cabinet-making trade; in some wire-work goods (*e.g.* toasting forks); in light tin-plated goods; in cheap basket and brush work; and in firewood.

The dissimilarity as regards well being that is constantly found to be compatible with similarity of industrial form emphasizes the fact that no system of production whatever can rightly be regarded as good or bad in itself, either on social or economic grounds. We have seen that the form is the result of many influences, and that it is frequently transitional in character. It will be therefore upon the presence or absence of certain particular conditions, independent alike of system, place of work, and size of unit, that ethical as well as economic judgment must be based.

In the cases of the small practical retail saddler, "one of the few surviving illustrations of the mediæval workshop;" in the small master man of the London cutlery trade; in the "chamber masters" of the surgical instrument trade; in the watch-makers of Clerkenwell; in many of the workshops of the wholesale tailoring trade; and in some of the workrooms of the journeyman tailors who execute at home the best "bespoke" work, we have illustrations of the fact that the "small system" in its various phases is compatible with favourable conditions of work and of employment.

It is, indeed, the quality of the labour required, considered in relation to the circumstances under which the demand makes itself felt, that determines whether the conditions are satisfactory or the reverse. In a young settlement, for instance, a sempstress working in her wooden shanty might economically be the most enviable person in the whole community. But in London the reverse is the case; for in such a trade, in which no great skill is required, and the work can be done at home, there are too many women available. Competition therefore is excessive and conditions hard. But it is upon the conditions and not the system that attention should be focussed. If it be found that the conditions are necessarily permanent, and that, when associated with a particular system, they are harmful, then the system can be logically condemned. But not otherwise. And this necessary permanency is

hard to prove. It is even difficult to show that the disadvantages which we are apt to associate with this or that system have any connection with it.

The small system of production may, for instance, be accompanied by many of the advantages of enterprise and initiative that might seem to be obtainable only with large firms controlling large capital. These very advantages are, however, often supplied to it by a body of non-manufacturing middle-men, who, replacing one of the functions of the large employer, tend to multiply the small maker, affording him some guarantee of continuous employment, and providing his market. The general efficiency of productive energy is, under such conditions, determined in great measure by the effectiveness and completeness of the machinery of distribution.

We see, on the other hand, that excessive specialization of skill and consequent loss of industrial independence are in no sense exclusively connected with, perhaps even not found in their extremist forms in, the large system of production, with which they are most popularly associated. They are in fact often determined, not so much by the size of the individual centre of employment, as by the number of branches into which a trade may be subdivided. The highly organized development, therefore, of an industry in any locality, even if the characteristic features be the small and the smallest system of production, may thus be followed by all the evils of labour that is overspecialized, and therefore incapable, as regards each individual operative, of the adaptation that changing conditions may demand.

And so also with that form of sub-contract which is most likely to be accompanied by "sweating"—when neither plant is owned nor material supplied by the "sub-contractor," and when labour alone is his source of profit—this also has no necessary connection with any particular method of production—large or small. In the large cabinet maker's

shop, for instance, we may find the skilled operative working with an assistant "greener," or the French polisher, as a piece-master, taking on and paying his own men; in the carriage building trade we see the "leading hand," having accepted work "at a price," making his own terms with others whom he himself employs and pays; in some pianoforte factories we still find the different parts of the work given to contractors who make their own bargains with men whom they independently employ, and a similar practice is even more prevalent in the light leather factories of Bermondsey. In some sections of the saddlers' trade the same relationship is found on a smaller scale and on perhaps more favourable conditions; and the Boiler Makers' Society has been not altogether inaptly described as a union of small employers.

In comparing the large system with the small, however, we are led to the general conclusion that, *ceteris paribus*, the small employer tends to impose harder conditions upon his workers, even though they be more irregularly enforced, than does the large employer. And some of the reasons for this are not far to seek. One of the most important is found in the fact that the small master often works himself at his own trade, and, working for his own hand, is apt to measure against his own eagerness the response of others whose interest in the total output cannot be so great as his own. He often maintains a very friendly relationship with the few workers round him, but his capital is small, his business interest is concentrated, and his employees consequently become, in a more intensified form than in the case of a large employer with a wider field of operations to divert attention, the human instruments of production out of whose energy his profits most directly and most obviously come. And the strength of his interest in their labour is reflected in the force and the strenuousness of his control.

But it must also be remembered that, although the small

employer may more often "drive," he is also himself more often driven—is often, indeed, not so free an economic agent as those over whom, so long as they work for him, he rules. His responsibilities are greater, and he is subject, in many ways from which the wage-earner is comparatively free, to the conditions of the market for which he works.

We are, however, led again by a wider survey to the conclusion arrived at in an earlier chapter* that the conditions implied by the term "sweating"—the drive, the excessive specialization, and the human exploitation—are largely independent of any system of production, and of any particular relationship between employers and employed. They are dependent on more fundamental considerations:—On the general position and character of the trade; on the quality of the labour employed; on the nature and strength of the traditions of the trade, and of its labour organizations; on the force of competition within and the pressure of competition from without; and on the character of employers and of their deputies.

The best as well as the worst conditions of employment may, indeed, prevail under any system—large or small, factory, workshop, or home. To obtain a basis for generalization as to the real explanation of the prevailing conditions, a careful analysis of the particular circumstances affecting particular trades is thus necessary, rather than a classification based on superficial differences of form. Even then any conclusions arrived at would be largely hypothetical in character, for it is as necessary in the study of contemporary industrial life as in that of abstract economic theory to be clear as to the nature of the assumptions that have been made in enunciating any proposition. In the case before us, however, these assumptions will be based on an examination of actual circumstances; whereas abstract theory necessarily depends to a great extent on their elimination.

* First Series, Vol. IV., chap. X.

While the fundamental motive that determines method of production may be stated generally as the desire to secure the most effective use of labour and capital, various influencing circumstances such as have been mentioned, determine the special conditions of employment that prevail in any particular trade. These may vary from time to time with a hundred operating causes, but in certain trades, especially in some of those in which the small system chiefly prevails, they have acted with harmful and deteriorating force both on work and worker.

This has been due largely to what have become the normal conditions of competition in the trades concerned, but it has been accentuated in a marked degree by the response that the producer has felt himself obliged to make to the popular demand for cheapness—that Janus-faced economic idol; making on the one side for comfort in life, but on the other constituting a shrine before which, though most worship blindly, many human lives have been and are being sacrificed. The vast majority of consumers are constantly on the alert for cheap things, and, whatever their margin of income may be, they are apt to yield to the temptation to welcome the lowest range of prices that competition can secure, whatever be the conditions of employment involved.

An instance may be given from the evidence of a tin-plate worker regarding his trade, who says: "All big shops have small garret-masters—small sweaters who have been journeymen themselves and are anxious to be independent, and to start on their own account—working for them, and doing the light, common work. These small men make things which are only made to sell, and only sell because they are cheap. They are of no use, have no strength, yet people buy them, and the supply has caused a demand. Working-men's wives, who ought to know better, are the chief offenders."

CHAPTER V.

CHARACTERISTICS AND TRAINING OF LONDON LABOUR.

THE "industrial revolution," started in the eighteenth century, is still in active progress, and the conflict of system—of new against old forms of industrial organization—instituted more than a century ago, is still proceeding in many trades. In some it has not even yet begun. But the effects are already widespread, and the resulting changes of industrial structure are working themselves out in many forms, nowhere, perhaps, more actively or with a greater variety of illustration than in London.

Among other effects of the changes that have taken place, we find that the division of occupations into "skilled" and "unskilled" which once passed muster is gradually falling into disrepute, and that many of the elements of personal industrial efficiency are tending to alter.

In the present chapter we shall consider these points with special reference to the characteristics of London labour; to the degree of independence maintained by London as regards the supply of labour required; and to the allied question of industrial training.

Although the terms "skilled" and "unskilled" are becoming increasingly inexact and unscientific, it may be assumed that they will long continue in use, for a very varying standard of efficiency is nearly always found among individuals nominally following the same occupation, and in most trades those employed may be roughly divided into skilled or unskilled workers. It is rather when we compare trade with trade that we discern wider and more unmistakable differences, some occupations

demanding, if mastered thoroughly, a range of knowledge and of aptitude that distinguishes them in a very marked way from others in which there is no corresponding scope. Moreover, the increasing use of scientific processes and of machinery, demanding care rather than skill, together with the greater variety in the functions of operative labour generally and in the conditions under which they are fulfilled, make the old expressions increasingly inadequate. They will be found to be especially so in the present more particular consideration of the elements of industrial efficiency, and the extent to which London is able to supply them.

In what does industrial efficiency consist? It may be possible to define competency, but competency is no guarantee of effective work. The most skilful, clever, and "competent" men are, indeed, sometimes very far from being efficient, for, unless the strictest supervision be possible and enforced, they not infrequently take liberties with their powers, and lack many of the qualities that are absolutely necessary to effective service. Competency and skill mean power; efficiency means power applied.

The word has, therefore, a wide meaning, for efficiency will involve, not only the mastery of the processes required in any particular occupation, but the presence of the personal qualities—the physical, and, if there be no control from outside, the moral fibre, necessary to ensure its exercise.

The simplest form of efficiency is called for in the case of labour expended on easy and straight-forward work, such as road-sweeping or wood-chopping. From this we may rise to the rarest manual form, demanding the highest skill and trustworthiness, in which the operative, working, it may be alone, on costly materials, needs in the pursuit of his craft not only the most careful and skilled manipulation, but the power of judgment and of feeling as regards both utility and beauty.

In some trades, like that of the smith, there is "always something to learn"; in most there is scope for the perfect adaptation that comes from the repeated exercise, even in a limited field, of hand and brain; but in many the opportunities for adding either to knowledge or to efficiency are small. This is, perhaps, especially so, when the operative is the feeder of a machine, in which case, if there be no active responsibility felt for the machine that is served, and no watchful interest in the final product, there is danger, even more, perhaps, than when great muscular strain is involved, lest occupation should dwarf the physical and mental life of the worker. In such cases efficiency is found mainly in an unrelieved and unvarying persistency. In persistency we find, indeed, the most general element of efficiency, but it varies in character from the mechanical repetition of the simplest movement to the strong and sympathetic application of the highest powers—from the methods of the "mason," for instance, "whose persistency is as the ways are of men in this world," to those of Michael Angelo.

Efficiency, therefore, will vary with and be closely related to both occupation and the moral and physical conditions under which occupation is followed. Even the element of voluntary persistency will often be unessential, although always to be desired. When strict superintendence is exercised, or when the degree of effort is determined either by the recurring demand of machinery for attention, or, in cases when all must work together, by the pace that is set by the somewhat more highly-paid leader of a gang—in such cases we may approach the conditions of the tread-mill, and secure regularity of effort in spite of the absence of good-will.

The relative, and therefore varying nature of industrial efficiency is curiously illustrated in the special importance that is attached to particular qualities in particular trades.

Thus we read that for coffin-makers it is more important that a man should be strong and presentable, with respectful and, "if possible, sympathetic manners," than a highly skilled workman; an organ-builder must not only have a general knowledge of his craft, but, since the church is often his workshop, he must be sober, steady, and of good behaviour; in the case of the artesian-well constructor, much of whose work has to be executed without supervision, at a distance from head-quarters, reliability is so essential that in some cases a suitable man who possesses some aptitude for the work will be given the necessary special training in adult life; for those employed in chemical works, attention and obedience are the first essentials; for farriers, strength and nerve; for plasterers, when good work is expected, there is a special need for its conscientious performance, since scamped work can often be concealed in any case for a time; in the making of tin canisters and many other things nimble fingers count for more than experience; it is particularly essential that the dyer should be honest, since "many articles of small size and great value pass constantly through his hands"; and we read that "the most essential virtue for the milk-carrier is punctuality in the morning." If the material used in a trade is valuable, as in the cases of clothiers' cutters, upholsterers, boot-clickers, or of paint-brush makers (who use expensive bristles), there is exceptional need of good judgment, since waste may be considerable if this be not exercised. And again special branches of the same trade often demand special qualities, in this fact being found indeed one of the fundamental reasons for the specialization of skill. Thus, in the glass trade, while factories in which the artistic and highly-finished ware is produced cannot secure a sufficient supply of duly qualified men, others, in which goods of common or simple construction are made, are over-run by second-rate workmen. Even among the "unskilled"

we not infrequently find that special elements of efficiency are demanded, as in the case of the "heavy lifters" in railway engineering works, for whose tasks great strength is required; or in that of scaffolders, who must possess not only nerve but a knowledge of how to tie secure knots, and who are consequently largely recruited from sailors.

We cannot, therefore, give any useful general answer to the question as to what are the necessary elements of industrial efficiency. Even the most general and apparently most obvious statement of physical and moral qualifications might be found untrue if tested by application to the economic requirements of this or that particular occupation. We are driven back upon the conclusion that efficiency is essentially relative both to function and to the conditions under which function is served—to the particular needs or aims of the employer, and to the service which the public requires.

It will follow, since industrial training is desired only to secure the greatest efficiency, that the most appropriate form of training will in its turn be related to that form of efficiency which prevailing conditions show to be most necessary. These conditions vary from occupation to occupation and sometimes even within the borders of a single trade; and they are often affected by the special circumstances of employment in London—by the exceptional opportunities offered there for excellence of work, and by the exceptional dangers of its degradation.

Of many occupations it can hardly be said that any particular training is required. We have seen, indeed, that this is in some measure true even of certain branches of "skilled" trades: especially when they are carried on under highly specialized forms, as are those sections of the cabinet-making and tailoring trades in East London, to which newly landed foreigners can readily turn for

a livelihood without either previous training or experience. But there are other well-defined fields of employment as to which the above statement is more generally true—as in the cases of porters, and many factory, dock, and general labourers. There are certain other occupations, also, in relation to which, although a particular kind of experience is essential, the idea of systematic training is irrelevant, as, for instance, in the cases of costers and cabmen. These have, it is true, to learn their business in a way that is unnecessary for, let us say, a builder's excavator, but they cannot be systematically taught. If there be a natural facility, then an acquaintance with London streets and London life, the example of their parents, or the doings of those among whom they live, ensure the necessary knowledge. London, as it is seen in the daily whirl of business and pleasure, is their workshop as it has been their school, their playground and their nursery.

The value of this general London experience is reflected in the figures given in the table on page 29, in the contrast shown there between the 66 per cent. of heads of families of costers, the 61 per cent. of coal-porters, and, in spite of their dealing with horses, the 57 per cent. of carmen who are London born, when compared with the 43 per cent. of those engaged in gas-work service; the 31 per cent. of railway service; and the 22 per cent. of gardeners.

In none of the above occupations can it be said that systematic training is required, and this is also true of the groups of factory labourers, chemical workers, warehousemen, and the great majority of millers' and brewers' employees.

Although, however, the foregoing classes are somewhat similarly situated in reference to the non-requirement of systematic industrial training, it is otherwise as regards their general qualifications, and the three following groups may perhaps be distinguished: (1) in which a particular type of man is wanted and secured, such as for most brewers' employees, with strength and trustworthiness as their

main tests of efficiency; (2) when, as in the cases of cabmen and costers, a general London experience is the main qualification, with the sharpened wits, or, it may even be, the dulled consciences that have resulted from a London upbringing; while in (3) including many general labourers and some street-sellers, we are able to trace the signs of a residual drift. In the last group, efficiency is mainly negative in its character, and position largely determined by the process of rejection elsewhere: the fitness of the individual for the place which he fills, is then a sign of inefficiency when compared even with a general and average standard; and status finds its explanation, sometimes in misfortune, but often in physical weakness and incompetency, or, it may be, in laziness, drunkenness, or crime.

With the exception of the chemical workers, mill-workers, brewers, and factory labourers, the classes already mentioned are mainly engaged in the wide field of subsidiary industrial service. It is in the productive industries that the questions of training, of apprenticeship, and of the power of London to meet her own demand for workers, are perhaps of greatest importance.

In the following trades alone does the system of apprenticeship seem to prevail with any degree of generality in London at the present time:—

- Coopering (especially among the "wet" coopers).
- Export packing-case making.
- Basket making.
- Railway engineering.
- Copper-smiths and braziers.
- Pewtering.
- Tin-plate work: "East End," *i.e.* in the lighter work.
- Wire-weaving.
- Silver-plate working.
- Spoon and fork finishing.
- Organ building.
- Printing.

Book-binding.

Mat-making.

Silk-hat making.

Hair-dressing.

And in some of the old-established, well-organized, but declining riverside industries.

Even in the foregoing cases, which represent so small a proportion of London trades, and which rank for the most part among its minor industries, the system of apprenticeship adopted varies greatly both in thoroughness and in form, and the old plan of a seven years' indenture is rarely followed.

In a few trades other than those enumerated, apprentices are, it is true, found, as in the piece-masters' shops of the cabinet makers, and in some small special trades, such as "thermometer and tube blowing;" but the recurring note throughout the whole of the industrial volumes of the present inquiry, is that the system of apprenticeship is either dead or dying.

The practice of the past has for the most part yielded in the face of modern influences, and it would be unreasonable to anticipate any general revival of apprenticing in London, or even, in some cases, of regular training. The pressure of existing conditions on the general character of London employments is too adverse, since its products tend to be characterized either by great cheapness and lack of finish, when there is often no need for an apprentice's training, or by being produced under a pressure of haste which leaves no time for his slow performance; by such extreme and constrained excellence as leaves no room for his imperfect work, or by the fact that the preparatory stages, formerly his daily task, are now executed by the machine.

The greater difficulty of supervising lads who are living in London also deserves mention. There is more steady home life in the provinces. The home itself, and in small places the boy's whole surroundings, come more within the knowledge of the master, so that there is a social

check on his conduct. In London it is otherwise. There, a youth may easily lose himself at will in the great world that surrounds him. The master can, it is true, to some extent control the influence of the workshop, even though he may have little to do directly with the instruction of the apprentice; but he can feel no confidence that this influence is being backed up out of working hours, and this doubt weighs with him against assuming the responsibility of taking indentured apprentices.

Moreover, trade requirements vary. In some cases, the greater value of the experience gained by movement from shop to shop during the probationary period is frankly maintained, as, for instance, by masons and engineers. In many trades the preference for "speedy earning" to "steady learning" blocks the way. This consideration affects both employers and employed alike, and when yielded to by the latter it may be due to the pressure of home conditions, for young workers are often no freer as economic agents than adults. It seems, too, that in many directions a revision of the apprentice's wage is reasonably called for, although, to balance the instruction that he obtains, he must always expect a lower rate than the "improver," towards whom the employer has no corresponding obligation.

In nearly every direction, also, a strong feeling exists that the old forms or customs need amendment in favour of a more elastic system by which, though the legal tie between employer and apprentice may be made less binding, the moral obligation shall become more so. It seems also that in many cases fuller provision must be made by which the training of the workshop, necessarily somewhat unsystematic and unscientific at the best, is preceded and accompanied by teaching in well-equipped, well-staffed, and well-adapted technical schools—answering the double purpose, it may be noted, of increasing knowledge and of dispelling the widespread prejudices of working-men in favour of traditional and old-fashioned methods.

In different trades different methods of adjustment are required. The relative numbers of apprentices to adult workers; the provision of efficient supervision and instruction; the question of premiums, of term of service, and of certificates of competency; the uses of an outside intermediary in bringing employers and apprentices together and in adjudicating in cases of disagreement; the relation of the apprentice to the trade union;—these and many other points would require special consideration in their bearing upon particular trades. Apprenticeship, however, whatever the particular appropriate form may be, must always be regarded as a bargain involving the kindred interest of both master and apprentice. The development of the sense of responsibility of the former in his capacity of instructor, and the provision of the necessary incentive for the latter in his capacity of learner, should be the two main objects to be kept in view. Finally, no proper working of the apprenticeship system can be realized without the establishment of a satisfactory personal relationship, but this would be the natural outcome of the frank recognition by the respective parties of a mutual obligation.

If this sense were stronger and more widely spread, it is probable that London would be industrially more self-sustained than it is, although the power to produce successive generations of workers depends upon many other conditions.

The part that London plays in the production of its workers is of a two-fold character.

An examination of the table of the proportions born in London,* to which we have already referred, shows that it is the essentially London trades which are, as indeed was to be expected, chiefly recruited from those born in London. For such trades London provides a school

* On page 29.

which is far more complete than any found in the Provinces, in spite of the normal disadvantages of the Metropolis as a centre of industrial training. We see this well illustrated in the cases of the book-binders, with only 19 per cent. of heads of families born out of London; of those engaged in the various trades included under paper manufacture, with 22 per cent.; in the brush-makers, with 24 per cent.; in the glass and earthenware workers and musical instrument makers, each with 29 per cent.; in the sundry metal trades, with 32 per cent.; in the printers, with 34 per cent.; and in the jewellers, with 35 per cent., as compared with an average of 50 per cent. for the whole population.

In all these occupations the concentrated London trade provides an environment which is stronger, both as an attracting and educating influence, than any found outside. The same is true of cabinet makers, with only 32 per cent., and of painters, with 39 per cent. of heads of families born out of London, but in these cases the influence that London exercises is somewhat different in its general character. In these trades, and some others like them, a large proportion of those employed simply drift into the stream of industrial opportunities that flows by them; while others are dragged down by the rush of disorganized and deteriorated labour that competes for work — an eddying current stirred by the fluctuating demand of a great market. And the result is seen in the “brush-hand,” who can secure employment as a painter only when the conditions of this seasonal trade are in his favour, or in the poor cabinet maker, who, carried away by the chances offered by a highly localized and highly specialized trade, is left, half-taught and helpless, to strain his life away in a struggle that is largely bred of inefficiency. From a large proportion of the members of such industries no general mastery of their trade is required, but London can find room for, and, for the moment, even seems to need the

services of, these sorry crowds of half-taught and ill-paid workers.

Excellence and degradation, in their most highly specialized as well as in their most general forms, are found pre-eminently in London industries: not only, for instance, the specialized excellence of the stone carver who, because of a particular aptitude, keeps mainly to figure-work, and the specialized degradation of the cabinet maker, who does nothing and can do nothing but knock together the prepared parts of cheap wardrobes; but also the general excellence of the highly skilled carpenter, ready, if the opportunity occur, to fill the place of foreman, and be responsible for the supervision of the largest building contracts; and the general degradation of the man who is capable of nothing but to dig foundations, if he have strength, or, if he be physically weak, to sell penny toys in Cheapside. London, in short, grinds out of its industrial mill both the best and the worst, and may often rightly lay claim to the special merit of the former even when frankly looking to the Provinces for much of its best material.

It follows, therefore, that if a trade be concentrated in London—be it one that is well-organized and comparatively well-paid like that of book-binders, or one that is characterized rather by disintegration and excessive specialization, like that of cabinet-makers—London may be expected, not only to train but to produce the majority of the workers. If, on the other hand, a trade be widely carried on in the Provinces, as well as in London, and if a general knowledge of it be of service even to those working under the more sharply differentiated conditions of London employment, then it is probable that a large proportion will be country-born, as we find is the case with carpenters and joiners, bricklayers, carriage builders, engineers, smiths, and saddlers, among whom the percentages of heads of families born out of London range from 51 to 59.

Whether this movement from the country will tend to be diminished either by the improved teaching power of London itself; by the cutting off of the outside sources of supply, or perhaps by the diminished London demand; or whether, if it continue, it will be counteracted by a larger and readier outflow from London to the Provinces, cannot be forecast. Quite independently, however, of the answers to these questions, the practical problem of industrial training to a great extent awaits solution at the present time both for many of those that London absorbs and for all its own people. It affects that part of the community to whom the future belongs, and thus constitutes perhaps a more fundamentally important problem than almost any of those that are attracting public attention.

We have seen that, to many fields of employment, including even many branches of "skilled" trades, the notion of systematic training is inappropriate. Efficiency does not seem to depend upon it. Subdivision of labour and the extending use of mechanical appliances—the latter often accelerated by the suggestiveness of the former—are in process of active and even aggressive development, and new considerations are seen to interpose when we examine the ways in which individual efficiency can be best maintained.

The modern economic end is rarely found in the maintenance of individual independence as regards the processes involved in any particular occupation. Such independence is often simply an indication of wasted energy. Nor does the fact that a man has produced a finished commodity unaided, give any assurance that therefore he will himself derive a greater satisfaction from it, or that the product will possess a greater utility or beauty. The creative and artistic sense of "this is my work" need not be more stimulating than the sense of a corporate responsibility

and claim. There is rarely, save in the highest forms of creative art, any real independence and detachment. On the other hand, genuine pride in work is to be found everywhere.

The great products of modern industry, such as a building, a ship, or a locomotive, necessarily involve the co-operation of many hands and minds, and there is not infrequently a feeling of satisfaction in the result as of a corporate achievement and triumph. It does not appear why a similar sentiment should not have its place more widely recognized in connection with the combined effort required to produce many things of smaller dimensions—even though they be boots and coats—and that this feeling might find its place to some extent is perhaps shown by the way in which men are always apt to consider their particular share of the work on which they are engaged as the most important.

The conventional disrepute of much of the highly specialized work of to-day is due, not only to the traditional respect for older methods, but also to the recognition that much that is most sterling in industrial life is sacrificed to the demand for cheap goods—for cheapness at any cost. But it would seem that here, as in so many other cases, the condemnation of the conditions under which a certain object is attained has led to the condemnation of much that is in itself desirable—perhaps also inevitable.

It would indeed be a mistake to consider only the material product, for in the wider social interest, and ultimately in the economic interest itself, the conditions of employment need to be such as do not degrade the individual worker. The cheapening of cost, in the sense of more effective production, is in itself a social gain. It is the sham cheapness of deceptive or adulterated goods, made for sale and not for use, and the harmful conditions of employment that are not infrequently the

accompaniment of the cheaper forms of production, which are deserving of condemnation.

But cheapness is possible without the baneful features of low pay and long and irregular hours. Such features are conditional, and, it may even be hoped, temporary phases—the expression, often chaotic in form and injurious in result, of the movement towards a completer adoption of the sound principle of division of labour. *

At the present stage of development, it would appear that in many trades the dangers of undue economic dependence on others and lack of versatility, leading, it may be, to personal deterioration, will have to be met by better and more continuous general education, by the development of other forms of individual progress, and by the pressure of a higher standard of comfort and life, rather than by technical education or any system of apprenticeship. Dominant influences point to a still greater use of mechanical aids in the future, and to a more highly specialized application of labour in all processes. The necessity of economic adaptation to changing conditions will require therefore to be met by increased power of adaptation on the part of the individual worker.

But there is, it would appear, a double problem of industrial training before London working men. In many occupations large numbers must be employed who cannot, in the actual processes of their calling, use a wide technical knowledge, and cannot therefore rely on it for the maintenance of their economic strength. Their most valuable equipment will be found, not in craft-knowledge of the old kind, but in moral advance and an extended intellectual horizon. On this basis all alike, whether technically skilled or not, may refuse to lend themselves to the baser conditions of industrial life by which so many are overcome to-day. For some, indeed, the fullest and best adapted technical knowledge and industrial training will always be

essential. These will be the aristocracy even of the most subdivided trades, keeping up the standard of efficiency; helping to initiate; and, it may be hoped, permeating by their influence those who work in narrower grooves and with smaller powers. But for others, and it seems even for an increasing proportion, the maintenance of their economic position will have to be secured by more fundamental qualities than by the acquirement of special aptitudes. For if in the future the simplest and most highly concentrated form of individual effort should be that most calculated to secure the highest corporate efficiency, the most appropriate training for those thus employed will be, not that which confers powers that cannot be used, but rather one that enables men to perform, it may be, some simple task faithfully and well, with self-restraint, and thus with satisfaction and with dignity.

CHAPTER VI.

TRADE UNIONS.

I.—INTRODUCTORY—ASSOCIATION AND COMBINATION.

IN considering the different forms of association and the extent to which they prevail it will be desirable to bear in mind the character of the industries to which they apply. It is remarkable that out of the seven broad divisions of the occupied population—viz. manufacture, retail distribution, commercial service, transport, public service, professional service, and domestic service—it is only in a certain proportion of two of them, namely, in manufacture and transport, that we find to any considerable extent the form of protective association known as the Trade Union. The comparative numbers in these divisions are as follows :—

	Persons.
I. Those mainly engaged in Manufacture and Productive Industry	684,218
II. Those mainly engaged in Retail Distribution	186,750
III. Those mainly engaged in Banking, Insurance, and Commercial Service	124,309
IV. Those engaged in Locomotion, Transport, and General Labour	355,270
V. Those engaged in Public Service	60,648
VI. „ „ Professions and Professional Service	111,915
VII. „ „ Indoor and Outdoor Domestic Service	399,178
VIII. Returned as of no occupation (mostly married women and children)	2,289,455
Total Population	4,211,743

No. I. embraces wood-workers and metal-workers of all kinds, millers, brewers, tobacco-workers, bakers and confectioners; “sundry” manufactures; and the greater part of those engaged in the building trades, the printing and

allied trades, and the clothing and textile trades. In some of the above sections—for instance, in the clothing trades, and among tobacco-workers, and bakers and confectioners—there is an appreciable minority engaged in the work of distribution. But, since exact analysis is impossible, and since even in these trades the very great majority is engaged in productive industry, they have been included here.

No. II. includes stationers, booksellers, &c., drapers, &c., milk-sellers, butchers, fishmongers, grocers, &c., publicans, &c., lodging and coffee-house keepers, ironmongers, coal, wood and corn dealers, general shopkeepers, and costers and street-sellers.

The numbers in both the preceding divisions would be considerably higher if clerical and manual subsidiary service could have been included.

In No. IV., in the cab, omnibus and tram men, and in the various branches of railway service, we have a body of men engaged, in a special sense, in the unofficial service of the public. They number 72,959. These, together with carmen, coal-porters, seamen, and certain branches of riverside employment, give a total of 156,214 engaged in the general service of locomotion and transport in the Metropolis. General labourers (79,747) are also placed here, and probably include the greater number of the builders' labourers, as well as a large proportion of dock labourers. It is in this section, perhaps above all others, that we find the elements of the labour problem in their crudest and most hopeless form.

Of the total in No. VI., 18,393 are returned as members of the three professions of law, medicine and religion. Authors, editors and journalists reach a total of only 3211. The returns would probably have been considerably higher had the description conveyed any definite qualification, and still more so had the titles been protected by Statute, as are, for instance, those of barristers, who often insert on the census schedule the legal status they possess, even though

dependent on some extraneous profession for their livelihood—on letters, for instance, rather than on briefs.

This division embraces, in addition, architects and civil engineers, &c., and those who fall under the general headings of art and amusement, science and education; together with various forms of subsidiary or allied service: law clerks, sick nurses, chemists, &c.

Although trade unionism is practically limited, as we have said, to sections I. and IV., various typical forms of association are found in some of the other divisions. In the cases of solicitors and doctors we have organizations resting on a legal basis, with special privileges conferred and responsibilities enforced by Parliament, in which, consequently, membership is compulsory.* In other cases we find prominent objects of association in the promotion of technical education, in the spread of information or the interchange of expert opinion useful to the members of a particular profession or trade. The membership of institutes, like those of the actuaries or civil engineers, most nearly approaches this form. But such objects alone rarely constitute the reasons for a society's existence, the bond thus formed, apart from any protective or friendly object, not being sufficiently strong. Other associations, again, such as the commercial travellers, the Spanish leather dressers, the goldsmiths and jewellers, or the master coach-builders' benefit societies, are mainly social or philanthropic in their basis.

There is a common tendency for the objects of organization to become complex. Such complexity has sometimes resulted from the use of incidental opportunities for the

* These associations differ so much in character from voluntary labour and trade organizations that the parallel sometimes drawn between them is misleading. The Plumbers' Registration Bill, which has several times been before Parliament, would make it illegal for anyone not authorized to call himself a registered plumber, and is interesting in this connection. The Act, as in the other cases, would tend to create a monopoly in the public interest—in this instance for the sake of the public health.

promotion of some secondary object, and occasionally it has been strengthened by the fact (as in the case of many early labour combinations) that the real motive for association could not be avowed.

But it is clear that the bonds of membership vary in kind. In the case of the solicitors, or again of auctioneers who are compelled to take out a licence, the unauthorized assumption of the statutory qualifications is liable to punishment in a court of law. In other cases a duly registered body like the Institute of Chartered Accountants, may, by examination or by other methods of admission, possess the power of conferring privileges necessary to the full pursuit of a certain calling, but the recognition of such standards as these associations are able to set, rests solely on public opinion. In other cases, the bond is strictly social, membership of the society being purely voluntary and non-membership making itself felt only in the non-participation in whatever friendly benefits may be offered.

In the case of associations of employers or employed, where also membership is voluntary, the basis is primarily economic. The bond is frequently strengthened by the offer of additional friendly advantages, but the primary object is an improved industrial position to be secured by the members. The underlying motive is self-interest. At times, indeed, these bodies may act for altruistic purposes, but the dominant influence that brings them into existence, and which maintains their vitality, is the belief that in some way they will prove advantageous to the individual members who compose them.

It is with such associations as these, and their presence or absence in London trades, that we shall be mainly concerned in the present chapter.

Before considering the more common form of voluntary protective association, in which the motive for combination is mainly, but by no means exclusively, found in the relation of one class to another within the same trade, the

existence of protective combinations may be noted in which the necessary motive is supplied by the fact that some outside party threatens or seems to threaten particular interests. Examples of this kind of association are seen in that of the costers and street-sellers, who have combined, mainly for the protection of market privileges in particular streets in which it was contended that a prescriptive right had been created, against the encroaching regulations of Public Boards or against the interference of the police; and in the Associated Booksellers of Great Britain and Ireland, a society which concerns itself chiefly with the regulation of book discounts. Other instances are the Retail Newsagents' and Booksellers' Union, the object of which is mainly to adjust business relations with newspaper publishers; the Master Bill Posters' Association, founded to protect its members both against municipal interference and against the systematic attacks of those who on æsthetic or moral grounds have shown hostility; and lastly, the four protective societies established by publicans in the interests of "the trade." These societies have been formed in opposition to the United Kingdom Alliance, and to deal with the numerous legislative proposals for the further restriction of the liquor traffic. The interesting case of Brewers' Hall, which, in the exercise of its functions as a protective society, forbids the sale of beer by its members below a fixed minimum price, also deserves mention here.

These, however, are of the nature of trade protection societies, differing essentially from the great types of employers' associations and labour organizations, of which during the last hundred years so striking a development has been witnessed.

The popular division of the industrial world into rival camps of employers and employed is not only superficial but misleading, since the analysis of almost any trade

shows us the number and variety of its divergent interests; while a broader view reveals the strength of the forces that, in spite of conspicuous forms of conflict and unrest, make for solidarity among all sections concerned.

The incompleteness of such a division might be illustrated by reference to almost any chapter in the present work, but it is enough to appeal to facts open to the commonest observation of the industrial world. The almost unbroken continuity in the gradation of conditions which is presented to us, not only by society at large, but by the component sections of many individual trades, is among the healthiest and most generally applicable characteristics of the national life, while a complete change in individual status is far from uncommon. The discussion therefore of the industrial relationships of employer and employed, as if, on the one side, there were a body of rich men with assured incomes and, on the other, a miserable proletariat, involves a caricature of modern industrial society in this country for which, in spite of the extremes of poverty and wealth that it presents, there is no justification.

There is neither fixity nor finality in industrial relationships, and there are no sharply dividing lines.

But, though this complete gradation is true of the aggregate, analysis shows us many well-defined subdivisions, some by status, but most by occupation. If we take colours to indicate occupations and spaces of different size for the numbers involved, we may imagine any great centre of population as a patchwork surface. Then if intensity of tint represents differing status, the colour by which an occupation is represented will sometimes be uniform throughout, although more often divided into clearly defined shades. But the patchwork forms a single piece; the demarcations, whether between different colours or between different shades of the same colour, are not lines of severance: the great fabric holds together, albeit with ragged edges and some thin places.

Employers' associations, other than Trade Protection Societies, are generally the sequel to the combinations of wage-earners, and that they should follow rather than precede the latter is to a great extent explained by the pressure of the sacrifice of individual freedom that association always involves; for this sacrifice tends to make itself more felt in the case of employers than employed, since their operations are more varied and their field wider. As there is more scope for action, there is also greater unwillingness to limit in any respect the power of free initiative and unhampered management. For such reasons, therefore, the steps towards association are only likely to be taken when the pressure of some outside influence makes the counterbalancing gain both evident and certain.

The conditions, therefore, that lead to the formation of such associations are much simpler than in the case of the employed, being determined for the most part by the strength of the workmen's organization in the given trade. The actual power of association is generally present, except when the number of small masters is very great and there are rapid changes in status between employers and employed, and when consequently there is an absence of the material for a permanent bond or for the recognition of a corporate responsibility.

In London the following are among the most important instances of employers' associations:—

Builders; master coopers; ship-builders and boiler-makers; master brush-makers; master tailors; boot and shoe manufacturers, and master bakers—the society of the last-mentioned concerning itself, however, largely with the question of excessive official interference. Such associations exist also in the printing and allied trades, and in several branches of the furniture trades. In some cases the London Chamber of Commerce affords a medium of intercourse, with a view to joint action, between employers.

In many trades the foremen have separate societies, usually less for purposes of protection than for friendly objects.

II.—WORKMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.

In the table of occupations which follows, the proportion "in union" is shown for the various sections, together with the amount of young and female labour, the proportion of employers to employed, and other particulars bearing on the subject of the present chapter.

In a certain number of minor subdivisions (as, for instance, in that of the barge builders with 80 per cent.) a somewhat higher percentage of organization is reached than is shown by any division given in the table. But for any considerable group of trades we may take 67 per cent. as the maximum reached, and in the thirty-six groups enumerated the proportion ranges from this maximum down to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

In the various sections of "labour" the lines of organization, except perhaps in the case of the General Builders' Labourers' Union, are not very sharply marked, corresponding in this respect to the absence of clear definition in the census returns themselves. An aggregate percentage has, therefore, been obtained by grouping the members of eight of the allied sections together. The 27 per cent. thus yielded is probably still somewhat too high a figure, for the net of these labour unions is cast very widely, and a certain proportion of their members are drawn from porters, factory labourers, and other outside bodies of workers who are separately returned in the census. But the numbers added in this way are not likely to be very considerable, and, with few exceptions, the sections to which they properly belong may be regarded as practically unorganized.

TRADE UNIONS IN LONDON.

An appendix (by Trades) according to percentage of employed Males over 20 who are members.

TRADE OR OCCUPATION.	Employed Males.		Neither Em- ployed nor (Males).	Females (all classes).	Total occu- pied popula- tion.	No. of Trade Unions.	Number of Unions.	No. of obtain- ing to em- ployed males over 20.	REMARKS.
	Over 20.	Under 20.							
Printers, lithographers, &c.	1057	25480	10745	642	2125	40049	16	17087	67
Lithographers, &c.	199	4825	690	317	20	6051	1	3000+	62
Bookbinders	259	4621	1388	141	9443	15852	5	2787	60
Plasterers and paperhangers	236	5563	459	607	26	6891	3	3121	55
Masons and slaters	297	5490	394	286	25	6492	5	2833	51
Brushmaking	318	2229	662	314	2018	5541	5	922	41
Hat and cap makers	323	2228	434	201	2292	5481	3	1180	50
Tobacco	748	3188	854	913	3925	9628	4	1590	50
Steelworkers	—	6000+	—	—	—	—	1	3000+	50
Coopers, &c.	156	2978	322	131	8	3595	5	1422	48
Bricklayers	261	17748	975	427	16	19427	2	7165	40
Engineering, blacksmiths, and iron and steel trades	2287	40489	7693	2201	602	53267	19	15893	39
Carpenters and joiners	1178	28587	2459	1998	272	34194	8	10627	37
Boot and shoe makers	2775	19628	4165	4894	7537	38989	4	6837	35
Saddlery, harness, &c.	411	2440	494	350	182	3877	4	825	34
Workers in metals other than iron or steel	916	11130	3096	901	1217	17260	16	3186	29
Labourers:—									
Dock and wharf labour	*	7771	791	*	—	8562	2	7500+	27
Coal-porters	*	4369	468	*	—	4837	1	5000+	
Gas-works service	31	5529	270	17	22	5869	1	8000+	
General labourers	*	70035	9478	*	234	79747	6	7800	
Factory labourers	*	5042	1965	*	1624	8631	0	—	
Artisans (undefined)	*	7640	2664	*	1312	11616	0	—	
Railway labour	*	3292	205	*	—	3497	0	—	27
Builders	3349	4386	587	502	42	8866	1	1300	

Coopers, 48 %. Lath-renders, 45 %.

Percentage should be higher, as Census in-
cludes assistants in boot and shoe shops.

Freemen and apprentices only admitted.

Masons, 53 %. Slaters, 31 %.

Silk hat makers, strongly organized; other
branches weak.

Percentage should be higher, as Census includes
many tobaccoists and their assistants. In
addition to the total given, 650 women are on
the books of the Cigar Makers' Association.

Plumbers	712	5878	1963	769	24	9346	2	1600	27
Leather dressing & tanning	1093	8281	1619	531	4215	15739	16	2156	26
Railway service	*	16414	2129	*	112	18655	3	4100	25
Bakers and confectioners ..	2950	10471	3313	1295	25758	8	3	2280	22
Cabinet-makers, &c.	4034	29515	7627	4603	6833	52612	23	6204	21
Glass and earthenware	255	2973	1002	225	516	4971	6	611	21
Jewellers, gold & silversmiths	924	4748	1240	699	1032	8643	8	924	20
Tailors	3399	18233	8734	2088	24872	52346	7	3551	19
Carrriage builders.....	693	7348	897	552	118	9608	7	1331	18
Surgical, scientific, and elec- trical instruments	527	5184	1570	456	521	8258	4	951	18
Painters and glaziers	1625	26434	1947	2499	161	32666	14	4607	17
Hemp, jute, fibre.....	166	1285	516	131	1243	3341	3	190	15
Carmen, carters, &c.	842	33519	8638	678	124	43801	1	5000†	15
Engine drivers (undefined)...	*	5986	430	*	—	6416	1	800†	13
Dock and wharf service	*	1996	67	*	33	2096	1	250†	13
Seamen, &c.....	310	9969	1455	276	64	12074	1	1000†	10
Paper manufacturers	298	2459	1064	251	10647	14719	2	220	9
Musical instruments, toys, &c.....	731	5885	1855	759	1177	10407	3	360	6
Watches and clocks	670	2143	424	962	82	4281	1	94	4

* Taken as entirely employed. No Analysis.

† Estimated.

In the case of the shipwrights, barge and boat builders, with a total of those occupied, 2260; total employed males over twenty, 1813; and numbers organized, 2410, we have the apparent anomaly of more organized than occupied. But the explanation is found in the recognition by the census of a distinction between those working on wooden and on iron ships, which is not recognized by the trade union. The group is highly organized, but for the above reason the exact percentage cannot be given. A similar discrepancy occurs in the case of Municipal labour, with an insufficient total of occupied males under twenty of 4466, and a trade union membership of 4500.

The cab-drivers, with 4000 members, have been omitted, as their society was only started in 1894. In addition, either because the percentages organized were insignificant, or because the analysis of the table could not be adopted, the following have been omitted:—Shop assistants (two unions), 600 members; clerks, 200 members; millers, 151 members; Jewish mantle makers, 530 members; and Covent Garden porters, 300 members. A certain number of theatre and music hall operatives, waiters, and hairdressers are also organized. Lastly, there are two large groups of societies which are effective for trade union purposes, although they are not so described, viz., the Postman's Federation and other associations of civil servants, with about 10,000 members in London; and the National Union of Teachers and the Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association, the membership of which in London overlaps to a considerable extent, but probably represents about an additional 8000. Altogether there is thus a total of fully 30,000 not given in the table.

In the whole group included in the foregoing table there is a total membership of 147,300 trade unionists, out of about 489,500 employed males over twenty years of age occupied in the trades enumerated. It may be assumed that those above this age include practically all who are eligible for membership of the various trade unions, and in these trades we therefore have a total of over 30 per cent. who are members. If we add the 30,000, or thereabouts, omitted from the table for various reasons, we have a grand total of from 177,000 to 180,000 trade unionists, equivalent to $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the adult male population of London; to $14\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the total of those who are occupied; and to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population.*

It will be seen from the table that in few cases are the members of a single trade combined in a single society. Altogether, the trade unionists of London are divided among some 250 separate organizations, and the average membership, if equally divided among all the societies, would be a little over 700. Apart from the Civil Service and professional organizations, only thirty-five have a membership of more than one thousand. To these operative builders contribute seven; labour, seven; iron and steel workers, four; printers and allied trades, three; boot and shoe makers, two; railway service, two; and cabinet-makers, shipwrights, bookbinders, tailors, tobacco-workers, bakers and confectioners, carmen, stevedores, seamen, and lightermen, one each. These thirty-five societies account for about 112,000 of the total, and thus average about 3200 members, while all the remaining societies, again excluding the Civil Service and professional bodies, have, on the average, only slightly more than 200 members.

* This last figure corresponds exactly with the percentage given by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb for the wider Metropolitan area included in their definition of London, comprising a population of over five and a half millions instead of our total of something under four and a quarter millions. (*Ide* "History of Trade Unionism," 1894, p. 489.)

"Too many unions and too little unity" is a dictum of wide application in the trade union world.

Some of the effects of this disintegration may be seen by comparing the position of the painters with that of the general labourers. In both cases the practical difficulties of organization are very great, but it cannot be doubted that while the painters are greatly weakened by the number of small unions without any great power of cohesion, the group of labourers is made comparatively strong by the much greater concentration of its members. And even in the latter case the multiplication of societies has led to a considerable amount of overlapping and friction, due to the absence of close co-operation between the different organizations and to the consequent difficulty of preventing members who have fallen into arrears in one society from joining another for which they are equally eligible, and which may, especially in the absence of friendly benefits, answer their purpose equally well.

But divided though the membership of many of the societies may be, and small though the total proportion of members is, we must be especially on our guard against estimating by numbers the extent of the influence exerted, numbers, indeed, representing often rather the nucleus of this influence than the measure. In a few instances the figures may convey an exaggerated impression of strength, these cases being generally either unions of unskilled labour or those of old-established and well-organized, but declining trades; but as a rule the reverse is true. The active influence of a society is generally far wider than the circle of its own particular members. Moreover, the principle of trade unionism is more widely spread than its form. In many trades that are entirely unorganized, there is nevertheless a valuable consciousness of the right of combination with all its latent possibilities, and even, it may be, a recognition that the establishment

and maintenance of beneficial customs are not unconnected with the underlying principles of association.

Perhaps, also, in this connection should be mentioned the power of temporary combination possessed by those who are not, and probably could not be, permanently organized. Even if the spasmodic demonstrations of combined action, made for a special purpose, cease when the attempt has succeeded or failed, they are not unimportant as proofs of the recognition by all classes of workers of their full right and ability to take corporate action if they will. The cases of the match-girls and dock-labourers have shown clearly that the possession of this reserve of power would be recognized and could be used by almost every section of wage-earners, if occasion should demand it. Again, we find that beneficial effects sometimes endure even after active union has ceased, and even when the main claim has been won and lost again. Thus, in the case of the oil-millers, who joined the Dock Labourers' Union in the flush of enthusiasm of 1889 and secured a rise in wages at that time, although wages have now again fallen, the improvement in conditions as regards overtime, meal times, and sanitary arrangements has continued.

Although the figures indicate the narrowness of the field that many of the societies cover, the spectacle they present of many small centres of independent origin illustrates the spontaneity of trade union expansion. Occasionally we find a big society springing suddenly into existence, but its stability is generally in inverse proportion to the rapidity of its growth. The normal process is for local societies to be formed and for the larger and more successful of these to absorb or eliminate the smaller and less successful, subsequent expansion most frequently taking the shape of the establishment of branches affiliated to the parent society.

At other times this process of amalgamation is reversed, and a considerable number of existing societies trace their origin to a splitting off from the parent organization, due it may be to some new trade development, or to an internal difference on some question of union policy. But integration, rather than disintegration, is the more frequent sequel to local independent initiative.

Federation is a further step, undertaken to secure the combined action, sometimes of the members of a single trade when they are divided up among several societies, and sometimes of the different societies of an allied group of trades. The movement towards concentration has been active during the past few years,* but effective amalgamation must of necessity be of slow growth, and strong federations are as yet very rarely found. Recent instances of amalgamation are seen in the cases of the upholsterers; the French polishers; and the plate glass workers, all belonging to a group of trades in which the force of organization has been greatly weakened by decentralization; of the farriers, and of the stevedores. Of Federation, London offers now no conspicuously strong example. No group of trades can be said fully to have overcome the difficult task of forming a strong protective organization that combines the advantages of centralized common action with the maintenance of the necessary independence of the constituent societies. We see the difficulties manifested by the weak position of the London Building Trades' Federation during the various building trade strikes of 1896—a position largely resulting from the almost complete absence of federated action on the part of the associated societies during the latter half of 1895 and from the subsequent series of disputes. We have the same difficulties showing themselves, in the case of a national

* It is noteworthy that of the seventy-five Federations of Trade Unions in the United Kingdom enumerated in the second Annual Report of the Labour Department (1895), only seventeen were formed prior to 1890.

federation, in the looseness of the tie between the nominally federated societies of the carriage building trade, explained, it would appear, by the fear on the part of the London men of being "bossed" by Liverpool; and again in the case of the National Federation of Coopers. Among the brass workers a London Federation exists, but a more important source of strength of the Metropolitan Societies in this group is found in their affiliation to a National Association of kindred bodies.

In the London Trades' Council the trade unionists of the Metropolis possess the machinery of a central consultative and propagandist body. It has a somewhat fluctuating membership, however, and although active politically from time to time, cannot be said to exercise a great influence on the Trade Union Movement in London. The representative strength of the Council was about 59,000 in 1895.

On the whole, in spite of certain opposing tendencies trade unionism is to be regarded rather as representing an expanded form of individualism than any thorough collectivism. Each society tends to develop a strong corporate sense which is apt to dominate the minds of the chief executive officers, and is often also prevalent among the general body of members. This is a source of weakness in so far as it narrows outlook, hampers action, and increases expense, but of strength in so far as it ensures loyalty and devotion.

It is to be noted that at least seventy-five of the societies included in the table on pp. 144-145 are purely Metropolitan, and, big though London is, and highly localized though many of its trades are, the dangers of narrowness of outlook are increased when the executive responsibilities thus cover only a portion of the workers of a single trade. Their members are not easily brought "to understand that the well-being of a whole trade, and not of any

one section of it, is that which has first to be considered," and there is great danger, therefore, that the necessity may be overlooked of taking action with due reference to the conditions prevailing in the same trade, in other parts of the country or even abroad. The parochialism of the outlook tends to become still more pronounced in the case of those trades in which not one but several local societies exist, as in the cases of the painters with fourteen; of the cabinet-making group with twenty-three; and of the workers in metals other than iron and steel, the leather trades, and printing and allied trades, with sixteen societies each. Of these eighty-five societies, at least thirty-seven operate only in London.

III.—ORDINARY FUNCTIONS OF TRADE UNIONS.

Every *bonâ fide* trade union is a protective association, and in the conflict of opinion in recent years with regard to the proper functions of these organizations we have had a recrudescence of the old controversy as to whether or not they should endeavour to be anything more.

Differences of opinion on this point still exist, but the balance is overwhelmingly on the side of the wider interpretation of the rightful sphere of trade union action. This conclusion has been forced even on the members of many of the societies which were started in 1889, and in the years immediately following, on the opposite principle, and is now admitted by many of those who for a time held strongly to the belief that the true unionism was purely militant in form. Experience has once more shown that only in very exceptional cases can this narrow interpretation of objects ensure permanency. In certain trades in which, for example, the changing conditions of the basis

on which wages are calculated demand constant watchfulness, or when an elaborate and varying schedule of piece-work rates has to be maintained, or when, as with government servants, the members are a compact class in permanent employment, a protective form of association may suffice. But, as a rule, the bond thus offered is too weak. The forces drawing men together are too intermittent and the sense of gain secured too vague for the ordinary man, who will not be regular in his subscriptions to his trade society unless he feels that he is receiving an equivalent for his money. This he is unable to detect in the obscure and somewhat abstract advantages of organization pure and simple, and in the mere possibility of combined action so provided. It is, therefore, only at times of dispute that the purely protective bond is likely to satisfy. Thus elements of instability and unrest, and a desire to justify its existence by some extraneous corporate movement, tends to accompany a simply militant organization and to weaken its power as a persistent and steadying force in industrial relationships.

In addition to purely protective aims, of which the most general are the giving of dispute pay, the securing of legal aid in differences arising upon questions of employment, and the maintenance of the necessary executive officers, the following table will illustrate the variety of further objects, one or more of which the great majority of unions have in view. The particulars refer to the 176 London societies from which details of benefits have been obtained:—

Table of Benefits offered by London Trade Societies.

DESCRIPTION OF BENEFITS OFFERED.											
TRADES.	Out of work.	Sick.	Death.	Accident.	Pension.	Travelling.	Loss of tools.	Benevolent.	Societies represented.	Societies analyzed offering Protective Benefits alone.	Societies not analyzed.
Building trades	7 10	21 16	8 4	3 1	21 2	12 35					
Cabinet-makers, &c.	17 7	14 1	2 4	5 1	19 2	2 23					
Carriage builders,coopers, } shipwrights.....	7 1	10 6	6 —	3 —	12 1	7 20					
Iron and steel trades	14 12	18 10	8 2	3 3	19 —	— 19					
Workers in other metals	11 3	10 1	4 1	— 4	11 1	4 16					
Printing and allied trades	13 4	8 —	5 —	— —	14 —	2 16					
Bookbinding and paper } manufacture	7 3	6 —	4 —	— 2	8 —	— 8					
Precious metals, clocks, } and instruments.....	11 2	7 1	— 2	1 1	13 —	3 16					
Glass, &c., leather, sad- } dlery, & brush-making	16 4	6 —	4 2	1 1	18 1	11 30					
Tailors, boot and shoe- } makers, hatters, &c. ...	5 8	8 —	4 4	— —	8 6	2 16					
Tobacco, bakers, and } confectioners	4 6	4 —	1 —	— —	6 —	— 6					
Railway service, dock, } gas, and various labour } sections	3 1	9 5	2 1	— —	10 4	6 20					
	115 61	121 40	48 20	16 13	159 17	49 225					

The subscriptions to the various societies range from *2d* to *2s 3d* per week. Out of 167 that have been analyzed, from *2d* to *6d* is paid in 108 societies; from *7d* to *1s* in 47; from *1s* to *2s* in 10; and in two cases *2s* is exceeded. The most common subscription is *6d*, which is paid by 37 societies, while *3d* is paid by 24; *2d* by 23; *4d* by 20; *1s* by 15; and *9d* by 13. In the larger and more important societies somewhat the larger subscriptions are paid on the average, 72 per cent. of those with a membership of 200 or less raising *6d* or less per week, as compared with 57 per cent. of those with more than 200 members in which equally small subscriptions are paid.

The analysis includes every combination of benefit. Superannuation or pension is offered only by the richer societies, and the amount of benefit under the various heads, especially sick-pay and out-of-work allowance, and the periods for which they can be claimed, show a corresponding relationship to the subscriptions, which are themselves, as a rule, roughly proportional to wages. In a few cases the societies have an emigration fund, which may be regarded as an expansion of the more common travelling benefit.

In only seventeen out of the total of 176 societies for which we have an analysis of objects, are protective benefits alone offered. In a certain number of additional cases there is a "trade section," which members can join at any age. Older men are often eligible for this section alone, since they would be too costly as members if they could claim benefits other than those of a strictly protective character. For some of the more important benefits membership is not infrequently optional.

The preceding table gives details of the benefits that are promised, but since trade unions, in common with limited companies, building societies, or other corporate undertakings, have no guarantee against insolvency, they sometimes fail to meet their liabilities. In important societies this rarely happens, and although few could stand the test of an actuarial valuation with regard to those of their liabilities that could be thus calculated, the past experience of trade unions provides, with few exceptions, a good financial record. In some cases a readjustment of benefits has been found necessary, but, on the whole, in the elasticity of the special levy a financial expedient has been found by means of which times of exceptional stress have been successfully met.

Various rules are adopted to maintain financial stability. In some cases, as in those of the compositors and the amalgamated carpenters and joiners, the reserve per member

is not allowed to fall below a certain fixed minimum, levies being imposed to secure a readjustment should this happen. In others, a certain aggregate minimum reserve is fixed independently of the total membership of the society, as in the case of the operative masons. In a few societies, again, there are special safeguards for particular benefits, as with the day-working bookbinders, whose charge for superannuation allowance is controlled by a rule that limits the numbers receiving this form of help to a certain fixed proportion of the total financial membership of the society. The peculiar difficulty attending the administration of trade union funds, the dependence of such expenditure as that for unemployed benefit upon fluctuating trade conditions, and the impossibility of reducing many of the funds to actuarial law—all these bear witness to the sagacity and caution which have overcome stumbling blocks so serious.

It is to friendly benefits that the greater part of trade union expenditure is devoted.* Many of them, such as

* The following figures, extracted from the Report on Trade Unions by the Chief Labour Correspondent of the Labour Department (1894), illustrate this. The figures refer to the whole country. Returns were received from 832 Societies, with a membership of 1,256,448. Their expenditure during the year amounted to £1,789,280 and was distributed as follows:

	£	£
Trade Benefits: Dispute	232,006	
Other Benefits and Grants	52,821	
		284,827
Provident Benefits: Out of Work .	534,382	
Sick	229,017	
Accident	24,152	
Superannuation .	129,007	
Funeral	87,386	
		1,003,944
Grants to other Trade Unions, Federation Payments, etc. .	123,474	
Working and other expenses .	377,035	
		500,509
		<u>£1,789,280</u>

sick and superannuation allowance, constitute a permanent and approximately fixed charge upon the societies that offer them. The unemployed benefit is a much more varying item, and protective charges rise or fall to a still greater extent; sometimes, during a period of dispute, pressing heavily upon the members—even necessitating, it may be, an appeal to other associations—at other times representing during long periods but a small and perhaps insignificant proportion of the total expenditure. There is no correspondence, therefore, between the two forms of claim. There is, indeed, a certain incongruity in their combination inasmuch as the very benefits which, generally speaking, are almost indispensable as a steadying force and as providing a permanent bond of membership, are also those which most restrict the freedom of protective action.

Such protective action is in the main concerned with the employers, but it is important to remember that not a few societies have within the scope of their defined objects the regulation of the relations of “workmen and workmen” as well as those of workmen and employers.

The relations of workmen and workmen need regulating from the trade union point of view mainly from two causes—(1) from the force of individual interest acting upon workmen of the same class and leading them to depart from the recognised terms of employment in their trade: as, for instance, to take work on contract and to sub-let when such practice is forbidden; or to work under the current scale of wages; or to do something that is contrary to the accepted conditions of the trade and that confers what then becomes an unfair advantage upon the offending member.

But (2) an equally important reason for this form of regulation arises from the overlapping between occupation and occupation. Well-known instances of this are seen in the cases of the artisan or mechanic and the assistant labourer, when the latter is forbidden to use

the skilled man's tools; in the definition, or attempted definition, of the spheres of work of such trades as the slipwrights and ships' carpenters; of masons and bricklayers where they come together; or of plumbers and fitters. Cases of the overlapping of the spheres of employment of boys and females with those of adult male labour are somewhat analogous; and under the same general heading may be brought all attempts to regulate the relation of unionists and non-unionists. In such cases, however, the employer comes in as a directly interested third party, and these regulations may perhaps be more appropriately regarded as similar in kind to those of the more important class of protective functions that are concerned with the relations of employers and employed.

With regard to these it must be noted at the outset that the special objects of the trade society and the interests of the employers are by no means uniformly in opposition. Sometimes they are even identical, as in the case of the Mat and Matting Weavers' Trade Society, the efforts of which are mainly directed against the sale, in the open market, of prison-made goods. But at other times the identity of interest, although it may be very real, is less easy to detect. It has often to be sought for in the application of the economic paradox that "low wages are not always cheap." In as far as the better conditions of employment that may be secured by trade union action have the effect of increasing individual efficiency by the channels of physical or moral improvement, an employer's concession that seemed a sacrifice may prove an actual gain even to the conceding party, and the apparent conflict of interest be lost in a real harmony.*

But as a rule these results, even when realized, are among the more subtle and "unseen." The "seen"

* Perhaps the most frequent illustration of this truth may be found in the history of disputes turning on the question of the length of the working day. (Compare Rae's "Eight Hours for Work.")

elements of any dispute are almost invariably treated on the general assumption, true in the main, that as regards the particular points under arrangement, the interests of masters and men are necessarily divergent.

The special objects which the societies set before themselves vary, not only from trade to trade, but also from time to time within the same trade. Thus, the London compositors are thinking now rather of changes made necessary by the introduction of new machinery than of either hours of work or regulations for apprentices; the main task of the barge-builders' society is no longer the abolition of overtime, but the careful regulation of admission into the trade; most branches of the building trades are concerned with questions of overlapping, sub-contract, and the position of non-unionists; the boot and shoemakers have still the questions of machinery and of workshop accommodation before them; and in a short time we may see the cab and 'busmen thrown together, not by disputes with the owners in regard to pay or hiring, but by the threatened invasion of the autocar.

Fresh problems are from time to time presented according to the changing circumstances of each particular trade: the expedient may become the inexpedient, and questions which have been regarded with indifference may at any time become matters of pressing and vital importance.

A change, also, in the character of the immediate aim of a particular society will be affected, not only by the circumstances of the trade, but by the strength of the organization itself. Such more general and elementary forms of trade union claim, as that with regard to the rate of pay, may be followed, if conditions be favourable, by the more difficult and controversial claim for the recognition of some rule with regard to the employment of non-society men. Relative financial and numerical strength and questions of general expediency will, in short, determine at

any given time the more specific character of the trade union demand.

At the present time there is, perhaps, a two-fold change in the accepted opinion with regard to the action of trade unions, pointing to a fuller recognition, on the one hand of the extension and on the other of the limitation, of their sphere of operations.

In addition to the major questions of wages and hours, it is beginning to be recognized that on such questions as sanitary conditions, enforcement of Factory Acts, terms of notice, modes of payment of wages, arrangements for meal times, and many minor points, the trade union, and perhaps the trade union alone, can give adequate expression to the demands of the members of any given trade, and through its representative officers effectively put forward claims or resist encroachments.

It is in the appreciation of the number and importance of the subjects lying within their proper sphere that a greater field for corporate action is being discovered, even side by side with the recognized subordination of trade union action to other determining influences.

Moreover, though the organization of labour is an influence over-shadowed by the wider and more powerful causes that determine the general condition of any particular group of workers, it is in trade unions alone that we find the right and possibility of industrial combination—the wage-earner's charter of the century—permanently demonstrated.

The principle of association, welcomed by nearly all in its other manifestations, is often especially feared and suspected in industrial life, although in every sectional form of association—in religion, in philanthropy, in politics, and even in purely social relationships—there is also danger of bias and unfairness, and of the neglect of the widest interests. It is perhaps felt that in trade unions the aims are still more sectional in character; and their moral basis is thus more often suspected.

It is doubtless largely because their interests have often conflicted in a very serious way with those that are wider and more important, and because it is feared that individual independence may be weakened, that much very honest criticism of the trade union movement as a whole has found expression.

Behind, and necessarily behind, the action of friendly negotiation by means of the informal or recognized methods of conciliation or arbitration—to both of which the existence of trade unions seems almost necessary—lie the weapons, on the side of the employer, of the lock-out, and on that of the employed, of the strike, both alike a recourse to the rude arbitrament of war. This close association in the popular mind of trade unions and strikes makes many overlook the beneficial character of the more permanent and constant action of these societies.

And the evils of partisanship have, it is true, often been incurred: claims have been unreasonable; strikes have been hastily entered upon; methods of propaganda have been tyrannical; pickets have bullied; industrial relationships have been unnecessarily disturbed and strained; and trades have been permanently injured or displaced, and in this way the principle of association has been discredited.

Industrial relationships are, however, apt to be determined by the less responsible and less restrained on both sides, and it is often difficult to see how anti-social practices are to be repressed, except by the methods of organization. It is unreasonable, therefore, to advocate the elimination of agencies that seem to have a well defined sphere unless, like the Socialists, whose way the trade unions often seem to block, we are prepared with alternative proposals, or unless we are contented to await the millenium, relying upon the ultimate superiority of individual enlightenment and independence. The abuses of trade unions are indeed best regarded as the

froth on the surface of a movement which for this country and for this age takes the place to some extent of the crude social struggle, the political vapourings or the industrial stagnation of other countries or other times.

Those who condemn the narrowness of view frequently illustrated by trade union policy may be reminded that the outlook, although narrow, is not the narrowest. Beyond the individual, beyond even the borders of the family, the sphere of interest of the members of any such society is widened, in any case to that of a section of his fellow workers, the individual member himself being included as one who, so far as his association is concerned, has only equal claims with many others. Nor can we refrain from bearing witness to the noble spirit of comradeship that has often been evinced by their members.

In themselves trade unions may be regarded as safeguards and expedients, justified and explained by the circumstances of the times. If these change, and if the desired amelioration of conditions can be permanently secured by better methods which either do not require, or are incompatible with, the existence of these protective associations ; then, it is not the new methods which should be condemned, but the associations themselves that should give way.

There are, however, many difficulties in the way of effecting a transition from worse to better conditions. There is the difficulty of judging as to the permanence or general applicability that the new forms are likely to display, and of being sure of the real motives of all concerned ; while jealousies often block the way in effecting a change in the mutual relations of employers and employed. Confusion thus arises in the minds of trade unionists between end and means, and from this blurred vision springs a trade union bias against changes tending to unite more completely the interests of employers and employed. It is sometimes

honestly feared that the independence of the worker may be unduly weakened by changes of this description, but there is also the danger that when such proposals are mooted, the trade unionist, recognizing the incompatibility of the old protective methods, based on the accepted and customary division of the occupied classes in any given trade, should be suspicious of movements which, however good in themselves, tend to eliminate his trade organization, because they tend to weld the interests of masters and men more closely together. But such welding would be the most complete solution of the very problem that trade unions are seeking to solve, and they themselves must meanwhile be recognized as institutions made desirable, and in many cases necessary, by the prevalence of conditions that in themselves have neither the elements nor the claims of permanency. To attribute such permanency to them, and thus to the forms of protective association to which they give rise, is to mistake the means for the end, the contingent for the essential.

IV.—TRAINING AND TESTS OF EFFICIENCY.

Save in exceptional cases, the connection between London trade unions and the training of workers is remote. Various causes explain this, prominent among them being, as regards many skilled trades, the large influx of labour from the provinces. The London stock is being continually recruited, and generally strengthened, from outside sources, and over the industrial upbringing of the migrant there is no control.

But the conditions of London labour tend to increase this powerlessness, for, as has been seen, workers are frequently employed there, either in highly specialized channels, in which it is difficult to find use for a thorough training, or on products of high excellence, when there is apt to be no room for the learner.

It is found, therefore, that while employers are for the

most part negligent and foremen impatient, the operatives themselves are generally either powerless or indifferent to proposals for the more systematic training of workers, whether with or without some plan of regular apprenticeship.

The trade unions sometimes have rules relating to apprenticeship, but their primary object, forced upon the members to a great extent by the excessive employment of young and cheap labour, is rather the regulation of the supply of workers, than the assurance of adequate training.* In a certain number of cases a genuine interest is doubtless felt; occasionally, on the other hand, we detect rather a fear of the rising generation, which, if it uses to the full the new opportunities not infrequently offered of acquiring thorough craft-knowledge, may be able it is thought to oust the older generation before its time.

But, in the main, indifference and a sense of impotence prevail. Inherited privileges and traditional customs have, indeed, a much wider and more important influence in determining the conditions under which a trade is both entered and mastered, or not mastered when entered, than have the unions themselves. This general indifference remains none the less short-sighted, both on the side of employers and employed; for a combined attempt to deal with the question might, in some cases, check that increasing superficiality of knowledge, through which markets are often lost or wages lowered.

There is, it is true, a widespread dissatisfaction at the present want of system in training, especially in cases in

* Sometimes they miss their mark, even when the union is strong; as, with the glass-workers, among whom, with strong societies and strict rules as to apprenticeship, "there are but few apprentices in the union shops. The members of the union, and the trade at large, are mainly recruited from boys and youths brought up in non-union establishments, where the proportion of boys to men is in the inverse ratio to that established by the union. This is not the only instance to be met with of the sweating shop figuring as the sole school of industry."—Vol. II., p. 83.

which the greater specialization of skill and the increasing use of machinery have forced the consideration of this question upon the members of a trade. But it is the disintegrating effects of these influences rather than the need of efficient training that has been most apt to attract attention.*

We find the same limitations both of interest and of power, as regards the qualifications of the adult members of a trade. A few exceptions may be cited, as that of the lithographic artists, by whose trade society a register is kept of the work done by the members; or the City and West End cooks and carvers, who have power "to fine heavily the member who does not give satisfaction to his employers," and, in common with other societies in this trade, reserves the right "to treat proved inefficiency as a punishable offence." But, generally speaking, the measure of responsibility that the trade union accepts for the efficiency of its members is based on the statement made at the branch meeting by the supporters of the candidate for admission to their ranks that the applicant is a good fellow, knows his trade, and has been able to command the recognized current rates of wages for such and such a period of time. If he can secure this testimony he is usually (subject it may be, to certain restrictions as regards age) *ipso facto* qualified for membership of the union of his trade. If it be one to which those only are admitted who have served their time as apprentices, it may be necessary for the candidate to show his indentures, and, when he is young, further questions are likely to be put as to his knowledge of the craft. But, as we have seen, these are the more exceptional conditions of admission, and even in the case of an indentured apprentice who has satis-

* In only two cases have we a record of the direct initiative being taken by trade societies, towards the improvement of the technical education of their members, viz., those of the zinc-workers and the lithographic artists. Vol. I., p. 393; Vol. II., p. 220.

factorily served his time, it is the test of the workshop and the eye of the foreman or employer that can alone give the real guarantee of efficiency.

It may, therefore, be stated as a general rule that the trade union does not attempt to apply any test of efficiency other than that (easily measured and easily applied, in any case for short periods of time) of ability to earn a certain recognized minimum wage. Any further test is, in the vast majority of cases, deliberately left to the employers in the particular trade: if they will employ a man at the accepted rates, prior to his election as a member of his union, then, in the absence of other special disqualifications, the union will accept him. The economic position of the individual man is not affected. The same criteria of suitability for employment will be applied after as before his election. The same methods of superintendence are necessary for the unionist as for the non-unionist, and throughout, there is no attempt made by the unions, save in certain cases of flagrant violation, to assume corporate responsibility for efficiency of service.

In this, however, there is but little reason for adverse criticism, for it would be useless to advocate the exercise by the societies of a function that is for the most part beyond their power. Greater discrimination than is now shown might often be exercised in the admission of candidates, especially in the loosely organized purely protective societies; and also even in the best managed societies if acting under the pressure of conditions of dispute, when the rules of election tend always to be somewhat laxly administered. But in the main the average level of efficiency of their members must be determined, not by their own action and policy, but rather by some outside prevailing standard and by the play of competition operating over a wide area upon the members of any particular trade.

In the attractiveness of London, acting both economically

and socially, we find the real influence that determines what the standard of efficiency shall be in the case of such craftsmen as joiners, masons, plumbers, and fitters, from whom good work is demanded and whose ranks can be recruited from the Provinces. The best provincial labour is attracted; and the migrants becoming generally apt learners in the London school, and also keen competitors, thus establish the high level that London labour reaches. On the other hand, in those trades in which there is room for a low class of labour—as, for instance, in many branches of cabinet making, tailoring, and pianoforte making—it is rather the local conditions that may be regarded as the main determining influences.

National or even international pressure may determine the degree of skill that London employers will demand, raising it in some cases to unrivalled excellence, or leaving it at other times to struggle, in deteriorated forms, against the methods of production prevailing elsewhere.

There is, nevertheless, abundant room for local effort towards raising the London standard. London workmen, even in the most highly skilled and highly localized trades, stand in no ring-fence, and it may be one of the most important tasks for their leaders in the future to impress upon the rank and file the truth that corporate strength must rest at last upon individual efficiency. Towards raising this, trade unions may have as important a part to play as in the direct endeavour to increase the share that each man can secure of the final product, for, ultimately, it is upon the individual standard maintained that the ability to secure improved material conditions will mainly depend.

V.—THE MINIMUM WAGE.

Although no real test of efficiency can be said to be applied by trade unions,—save in the very exceptional cases already noted—approximate uniformity of remunera-

tion and of the general conditions of employment is aimed at for the members of the same class in every trade. Every union endeavours to secure the same hours, the same rates for overtime (if worked at all), the use of the same scale if on piece-work, and not less than the same rates if time-wages be paid. It is the last two objects that have led to the very general attempt to secure the recognition of the principle of the "minimum wage."

This conception is analogous to that of the "living wage"—that will-o'-the-wisp of the social reformer—for, with certain modifications, the adherents of both are opposed to the view that wages must depend on the current level of prices and range of profits. It is thus not infrequently argued that the minimum wage is to be taken as a fixed element in the expenses of production, and that to this extent the adjustment of price in the open market, in any case for considerable periods of time, is to be restricted.

It is obvious, however, that this view wears a different aspect according to whether we are considering a rate of remuneration really necessary to family maintenance or one which, accepted at any given time in a particular trade, avowedly leaves over a margin, more or less considerable, for the "extras" of life.

Even for unskilled labour, the idea of a "living wage" is indeterminate. It varies greatly, not only from country to country, but from place to place in the same country, even from locality to locality in London itself, and also from time to time according to fluctuations in the average level of prices and to variations in the accepted standard of life. But there is a sufficient regularity in the elements of necessary demand for the family unit to afford us, for any locality, a fairly exact basis.

In London, for instance, although there are many adult men whose services are not worth 6*d* an hour, and many families that live on less than 24*s* per week, the "docker's

tanner" of 1889 was accepted with a common chorus of approval as representing the wage which able-bodied heads of families might not unfairly regard as their minimum demand.

If we assume for the sake of argument that this, on a forty-eight hours' week, may be rightly taken as an irreducible minimum, it is clear that so soon as minima are fixed at higher rates than this, a new set of considerations, other than those of reasonable subsistence, have to be taken into account.

Leaving out of the question any extra remuneration that may be claimed to meet the expenses of any particular industry, such as the provision of tools or dress, we find that any margin above the assumed living wage is due to exceptional conditions of one kind or another: the work involves difficulty, responsibility, danger or some other quality, which marks out those who follow it as being above the average and thus able to secure more than the assumed accepted living wage of the unskilled workers of their district. This higher rate is in the main not secured by, and not determined by, the trade unions. They rather intervene as secondary influences, strengthening and consolidating the position of a body of men who are differentiated from others by the normal conditions of their employment rather than by the fact of their combination. The trade union may forestall a natural rise in wages, or for a time may arrest a fall, but whatever may be the circumstances of its intervention, its general characteristic is to crystallize a normal tendency, and to secure, in any case for a time, a practical uniformity of conditions for a body of men whose general economic position is quite otherwise determined.

Approximate uniformity of pay may, indeed, be almost regarded as a condition of organization, and this is natural, for the task of organization itself is thereby simplified, and the interests of the average man are consolidated. The

attempt to fix a minimum wage in any organized trade may, therefore, be regarded as a necessary accompaniment of trade union action. The question at issue is, indeed, not the principle of a fixed minimum, but rather the level at which this minimum should be maintained in those trades which are able to command more than the accepted level of the "living wage" for a week's work.

It may seem that the highest possible point must necessarily be the right one to aim at, but trade unionists are alive to the disadvantages that may ensue from an indiscriminating adherence to this policy. In many trades differential rates have been introduced for older men, and in some an attempt has been made to modify the rates for younger men who have passed the probationary stages and yet are hardly sufficiently well equipped to claim with justice the full current rate of wages. This practice, is, however, jealously watched and its extension deprecated lest a reduced minimum, if sanctioned for a section of a trade, should tend to become the prevailing rate for all. An analagous difficulty presents itself to those who propose, as likely to lead to a more regular diffusion of employment in the case of seasonal trades, the recognition of a lower rate during the normally slacker periods of the year. The fall, it is seen, would be easy; the recovery more difficult, and even, it is feared, impossible should there be a slow revival of trade at the beginning of the ordinarily busy season.

There is the further argument in favour of uniformity, that the certainty and fixity in wages that it involves, enables employers to estimate the cost of work with a degree of assurance that would be impossible in a varying labour market. They become strong or weak competitors, not according to their success in cutting down wages, but according to their qualities as really efficient managers; as those who from their character as employers can attract the best men and make the best use of the labour they employ;

and, in the case of manufacture, as judicious buyers of the material used.

An unscrupulous and capable manufacturer may become a centre of disorganization and deterioration in a whole trade, since buyers, not being able to analyze all the conditions that enable him to become an exceptionally cheap producer, or not caring to do so, will quote his prices, and other makers are apt to be driven to follow his example in exacting the maximum of work for the minimum of wage. Uniformity of wage-conditions acts, at least in their own sphere, as a check on this form of excessive competition.

Assuming that uniformity is desirable, there is considerable difficulty in determining the point at which it can most advantageously be fixed. The higher the minimum is, the more exclusive does the trade union tend to become. It is possible, even, by a too rigorous policy, to exclude from the ranks of any existing society so large a proportion of the members of a trade, that any approach to effective organization is rendered impossible. The greater the disproportion also between the minimum maintained and the average real standard of the trade, the more hotly will the citadel of the union be attacked from outside.

Further, a high minimum diminishes the scope for the adequate reward of special skill, tending to secure for the less efficient more, and for the more efficient less, than they deserve. For the higher the minimum, the more likely is it to be also the maximum, and thus to leave less scope than would otherwise be possible for the adaptation of remuneration to efficiency.

A very high minimum, moreover, tends to diminish the continuity of employment. The bond between employer and employed that is represented by the "surplus" value of the services rendered is weakened, and the stability of their relationship thereby endangered. The larger the proportion of men who are receiving what is felt to be

more than their appropriate return, the larger also will be the proportion dismissed when trade slackens.

It can hardly be denied that one of the main arguments in favour of the policy that aims always at the highest possible minimum lies in its simplicity. Its strength rests largely on the fact, not that it is ideally the best policy, but rather that it fits in best with the degree of administrative power possessed by the unions, and with the common-sense of the rank and file of the members. In any given case, however, and London offers several illustrations, too high a minimum is apt to set at work various influences by which conditions may easily, and even rapidly, become only nominally favourable. It may be by the greater discontinuity of employment; by stricter supervision; by the more rapid introduction of machinery, or of boy and girl labour; or by actual displacement, that the subtle processes of economic adaptation will work. The effects will vary with circumstances and with trades, but the end will almost always be the same, for there are few occupations that can, even with the completest organization, firmly establish a real and effective monopoly.

At the present time—when, as in the case of the dock-labourers, employment is becoming more permanent, or, as in the case of the operative masons, it is tending to be more exclusively restricted to the members of a trade society—the position of those outside the pale either of permanency or of organization is becoming increasingly difficult. The normal stress of competition is accentuated in their case, and unemployment is precipitated on the heads of those least able to bear it. While, however, more stable conditions of employment necessarily make the position harder for those left outside, completeness of organization will only have this effect up to a certain point. For if the conditions enforced and the minimum secured by a strong trade society to the average members of the trade do not approximate to a normal basis,

and, above all, if they have been secured by the help of circumstances that were only temporarily favourable, then the society ranges against itself economic forces that will bring about either a weak union unable to enforce its own too exclusive rules, or one that is avowedly representative only of the more highly skilled members of the craft in question.

Lastly, adaptation to the changing conditions of a market becomes more difficult. There is a maximum wage that the employer can or will pay as well as a minimum that the wage-earner can or will accept, and although the position of this maximum, like that of the minimum wage itself, is liable to shift, there is always some point at which, taking the average of a few years, it may said to be fixed. In some cases, and especially when much capital has been invested, employers may work for awhile on a no-profit basis, this being often preferable to complete stoppage, and the heavy permanent sacrifice thus entailed; but they can hardly act in this way for long.

The character of the trade; the plant set up; the staff that it may be important to retain; the prospects of the future; and the temperament of the employer, will all help to determine the point at which unremunerative working will lead to stoppage. The stock-jobber, with no machinery to go rusty; no mine which may be flooded; or staff to retain, may take a holiday when in his particular market the turn is steadily unfavourable or uncertain, and is often the richer for his complete abstention and absence from work. But a manufacturer cannot thus dissociate himself from his occupation: if prices fall or if his market contracts, he has to endeavour to secure a readjustment of the elements that make up the cost of production, and one of these is wages. It is at such a time that he, on his side, will discover what his maximum must be, and ultimately, if the industry continue, the trade union minimum cannot exceed it.

VI.—LIMITATIONS TO THE SPHERE OF TRADE UNIONS.

The table on pages 144-145 shows how diverse are the conditions even of the highly organized London trades; but, in spite of the absence of uniformity, we may state in a general way the conditions which make for organization:

- (1) When stability of conditions prevail in the trade: when, *e.g.*, there is no easy recourse for the buyer to other markets or to alternative products; or for the maker to mechanical substitutes for labour, or to the importation of labour in case of dispute; and when the movement of capital to other fields of operation is difficult.
- (2) When the industry is not readily practised by independent workers and permanence of status as between masters and men is maintained.
- (3) When the proportion of boy or female labour employed is small, and incapable of competing with adult male labour; especially when there is need for the exercise of acquired skill in the manual processes of the work.
- (4) When the quantity and quality of work done affords a uniform basis of comparison between man and man so that personal relationships, as between employer and employed, become comparatively unimportant.

It will be found that some, if not most, of these conditions are present in every organized trade, and their importance may be shown by reference to almost any occupation included in the table. Thus in the printing trade, with difficulties presented by the employment of boy labour and by the introduction of new machinery, we find that as regards skill, measurability of result, and permanency of status, the conditions are highly favourable. In the well-organized book-binding and tobacco trades, although in both cases women are largely employed, we find that in the former trade the sphere of women's work is now fairly well-defined, and that in the latter, where the work is largely identical, the same rates are paid to both sexes. In neither case, therefore, does the presence of the women introduce

a new element of competition. Again, the low position of the cabinet-makers as regards organization is to a great extent explained by the prevalence of the small system of production; by a highly developed method of wholesale distribution, under which the small makers habitually compete for the custom of the factor; by the great subdivision of labour; and by the small degree of permanency in the employing class.

Turning to those occupations in the list that fall under locomotion, transport and general labour, we find that in this group the employees may be said to be generally strong as regards the measurability of their work; in the freedom from the competition of boy and female labour and in the large proportion of employed to employers, thus facilitating the common action that is rendered easier by common employment. They are weak, on the other hand, in as far as acquired skill is unnecessary; in the greater tendency for mechanical substitutes to supplant the simpler and more laborious manual processes; and in the power that frequently exists to secure imported labour in cases of dispute. The great weakness of the group lies in the width of the sphere of potential competition. With the exception of the dock and other officials, lightermen, bargemen, and, perhaps, watermen and stevedores, the protecting economic conditions of employment of all the members in this division are particularly weak. Even in the case of the more responsible position of railway servants, or of cab and omnibus men, the necessary qualifications are not such as to define the group of competitors with any degree of clearness, as in the case of most skilled trades. It is true that this distinction is only one of degree, and that, in the case of trades that are classed as skilled, if the subdivision of employment be excessive, the economic conditions tend, in this respect, to approximate to those of unskilled labour itself. In the case of the general labourer, however, when the acquirement of the appropriate knack

takes the place of any, even though it be a very limited, kind of skill, and when the first and last requisite is not infrequently found in the possession of a certain measure of muscular strength, we find the widest of all fields of employment, and the most elastic body of possible workers.

In the superior position as regards organization, therefore, of some of the groups of "labour" as compared with some of the more skilled trades in which the motive to organization is equally strong, we have a striking example of the aid that comparative uniformity of conditions and permanency of status give, when combined with adequate and intelligently directed motive; and of the power that may be thus secured to overcome in some measure the normally weak economic position of this class of workers.

Although trade unionism is conspicuous by its absence in so many fields of employment, it is less easy to state succinctly the conditions unfavourable to it.

London in the aggregate can hardly be regarded as a stronghold of the movement. Metropolitan conditions militate against trade unionism, just as they do against other democratic institutions that depend largely for their vitality on the maintenance of intimate personal relationship between their members.

Thus we find the co-operative movement baffled for the moment, even on the distributive side, by the size of a city in which, not only does the competition of the retailers secure a most efficient distribution, but in which men scatter far and wide when their day's work is done, so that the vast majority remain strangers even to their more immediate neighbours.

In addition, the fact that London is the greatest centre of the small system of production, militates in many ways against the possibilities and forces of combination, for it results in the isolation of wage-earners in small groups, and tends to break down the distinction between master and man.

There is thus altogether a more than average amount of difficulty in the way of trade union expansion in London.

In pursuing this subject further, it is to be noticed that there is a general absence of protective association in practically all branches of distributive employment; in banking and insurance; in some branches of the public service; in indoor and outdoor service; and among the employees in the various professions. The following table will show in greater detail those sections of which this statement is true:—

Industrial Groups in which there are no Trade Unions.

SECTION.	Total Population.	Employed Males.	Employed Females.
Milliners and dress-makers	83,448	1,418	58,250
Warehousemen and messengers	63,556	61,926	1,437
Chemicals	5,836	3,295	2,001
Soap, candles, glue	2,195	1,587	339
Stationers	8,883	4,497	2,811
Booksellers, newsagents	7,780	4,695	506
Silk and fancy textiles	4,811	1,594	2,498
Woolens, carpets, &c.	2,700	1,323	1,158
Dyers	1,946	921	651
India-rubber, floorcloth, &c.	3,074	1,612	1,139
Shirt-makers	18,487	874	13,679
Machinists	10,663	1,554	9,109
Trimmings, &c.	19,678	4,251	12,112
Drapers, &c.*	30,926	14,603	12,502
Millers, sugar refiners, &c. †	2,320	1,687	421
Brewers, mineral water makers, &c....	4,396	3,823	246
Milk-sellers	10,169	6,478	931
Butchers and fishmongers	28,637	19,628	996
Grocers, oil and colourmen, &c.	31,531	18,149	2,507
Publicans	14,991	5,996	776
Lodging and coffee-house keepers.....	11,004	1,369	1,324
Ironmongers, glass and china dealers	9,164	5,930	591
Coal, wood, and corn dealers	6,564	3,030	312
General shopkeepers	14,241	3,473	3,239
Merchants, brokers, &c.	19,992	—	—
Commercial clerks ‡	108,423	99,713	8,710
Gardeners, &c. ^{ca}	12,093	—	—
Country labour	3,774	3,336	99

The indifference to organization frequently found may

* A few may belong to the National Union of Shop Assistants, the Warehousemen and Clerks, or the United Shop Assistants' Union.

† A few belong to the Millers' National Union. A large number of oil millers joined the Dockers' Union in 1889, but have nearly all since left.

‡ As already mentioned (note on page 145), there is one small Union.

often be explained by the conditions of employment; as with the brewers' workmen, among whom, though sectional feeling is strong, the terms of service are so favourable that there is none of the pressure normally felt when abuses are numerous. For protective association springs from the sense among a certain proportion of those employed either that unnecessary disadvantages exist which might be removed by combined action; or that customary privileges are threatened that could be protected by the same means.

In other cases, again, the disinclination to organize may result from distrust of the methods of combination, or from the feeling that it is inappropriate to the relationship generally existing between employers and employed in some particular occupation. The personal character of the relationship, for example, may be so marked a feature that the impersonal intervention of representatives of an organized society is felt to have a certain irrelevancy and even impropriety.

Thus in many directions, including clerical occupations and assistants of all kinds, as well as some skilled trades, and even in certain cases of unskilled labour, the inappropriateness of any organized plan of adjusting industrial relationships is often manifest; the relation of individuals or groups of individuals to employers involving a sense of mutual confidence that renders the method of protective association incongruous.

Again, we sometimes find both motive and power to organize weakened when the class-relationship is expected to be of a transitional character. This is very generally the case with masters and men where the small system of production prevails, and when large numbers are "working on their own account." A conspicuous instance is seen in the case of shop-assistants, for in addition to the obstacle frequently presented by the personal or confidential character of their relations with their

employers, a permanent source of weakness in all attempts at organization is found in the fact that every young shop-assistant is apt to regard himself as a future employer, and although the increase in the proportion of large retail shops is clearly diminishing the likelihood of change of status, yet the hope of change is general. Moreover the heads of departments in large shops are probably as far removed from trade union organization as small employers.

The non-manual occupations are in fact little suited for trade union action. An approximate uniformity of conditions is an essential feature of unionism, and the characteristic of most manual trades, that, while a minimum is aimed at, a fairly well-defined maximum is also known to prevail—is largely absent from most non-manual employments. The saying, "once a rivetter always a rivetter," has no parallel in many callings. It is especially inapplicable to all those occupations in which the normal state of mind is to live in the expectation of doing better in life—not in the way that the mason may hope to secure a better yard, obtaining, it may be, more regular work or slightly higher wages, but in the sense of a change in position, making for advance in life, and initiating a "career."

It is the disintegrating force of these vague possibilities that in many employments weakens both the motives that make for organization, and the power of trade unions when formed.

It is to be noted that an organization generally represents a corporate interest much wider than that of the workpeople of a single firm, and that frequently the employer who is on the best terms with his people is also the one who is most in sympathy with the trade unions; whereas the employer with whom relations are most strained is apt to be the man who dislikes them most. The considerate employer, even in the case of partially organized trades, whether sympathetically or unsympathetically disposed

towards the trade union, undoubtedly blocks the way towards a completer organization, much in the same way that the moderate drinker prevents the introduction of drastic temperance legislation.

In the case of all female labour instability of status—social rather than economic—is a standing obstacle to organization. The most active trade union initiative is undertaken by comparatively young men, and the great majority of the older responsible leaders and executive officers are found among those who have been brought up from youth in trade union traditions. It is the young mechanic who has just entered upon his adult career, with every probability, and generally with every intention of pursuing it during his working life, who is the best recruit of his trade society, which often, indeed, becomes for him one of the principal channels by which his sense of corporate responsibility, and even of a wider citizenship is developed. But to the young woman the perspective of her future is quite differently shadowed forth. The hope of marriage rather than the strengthening of her industrial position is usually the dominating influence in her life, and in this, combined with a less-developed capacity than even that of men for the tasks of organization and administration, is found a great disintegrating force.

The practical difficulty of combination among women is well illustrated by the three accompanying charts. In every case the sudden drop, as compared with men, in the numbers employed between the ages of 20 and 35, is clearly marked, as is also the much more gradual decline in their numbers from the age of 40 onwards. Thus, even such permanency of economic status as is found among women does not correspond in any sense with that of men. The cases in which it may be anticipated are nearly always of women who have passed the age at which effective organization on trade and friendly lines is likely

to be secured; when the flush of enthusiasm that may stir the imagination and prompt to a great corporate endeavour, has paled in the long years of work—unhoped for, perhaps unexpected—that have led on to middle age.

In many cases, the absence of trade unions, even in occupations in which there seems, perhaps, the most likely field for their application, is explained, not so much by the presence of any normally disintegrating force and preventive influence—as in the case of women—as by the negative resistance of apathy and ignorance; due partly to defect of character, but more often to a depressing sense of the economic weakness of their position, which reacts upon the power of corporate initiative. Trade unionism is still a growing movement, and its sphere may be greatly extended in the future, but there are many groups of wage-earners, even among the lowest paid male sections of the population with whom the motive to organize should be strongest, for whom the help of combination is, nevertheless, almost unattainable—indeterminate bodies among whom there is no cohering force, no development of leadership, consisting of men for whose employment even the simple qualification of persistency is often neither required nor forthcoming.

The part played by trade unions has, as we have seen, many limitations, not only where they exist, but also from the fact that in many directions they do not exist at all. Nevertheless they exercise a very real power beyond the proportion of their numerical strength. In spite of overlapping and jealousies, with many leaders and divergent aims, and with an only half developed sense of responsibility, the trade unions of London still exert a regulating economic force of no little importance.

The history of the “fair wages clause,” the extent to which it is adopted, and the more general recognition, not only by public bodies, but by a wider public, of a moral obligation to discourage or so far as possible prohibit,

anti-social conditions of employment, illustrates the indirect power that can also be exerted by trade societies. For they exercise considerable influence in the formation of public opinion on labour questions, and in the constitution of popularly elected bodies, the labour members are almost invariably drawn from the unions themselves. "Labour" without the unions would be comparatively dumb.

But our estimate of their strength and influence should not be exaggerated. For the dominating and determining conditions of employment it is necessary to look in other directions, and over wider fields than those covered by these associations. Industrial life, although involving a curtailment on every hand of the scope of individual freedom, and made up of a tissue of involuntary sacrifices, still leaves, even among wage-earners, the active impulses of the individual mind as the most important economic force.

In changing economic conditions, in expanding or shrinking markets, and in fluctuating prices we find the great planks in the industrial platform upon which the individual, sometimes in union with his fellows but in any case in the exercise of his own judgment, has to play his part. It will be mainly by forces and opportunities such as these, as they bear upon the individual man, that, according to his power of response, industrial status and reward will be determined. Only to a very limited extent can associated effort direct these dominating influences.

[Some remarks on trade unions as remedial agencies will be found in Chapter XII.]

CHAPTER VII.

THE HOURS OF LABOUR.

THE question of continuity or discontinuity of work covers, practically, the whole question of unemployment; it therefore claims our first attention in an examination of the conditions of employment. It is followed in importance by the question of wages, and last comes that of hours. But just as, when employment has been once secured, the rate of pay comes to the front, so, no sooner is a decent subsistence wage being earned, than the question of hours becomes of as great, perhaps of even greater moment. Whether more or less be earned affects, no doubt, immediate comfort, whereas a working day unduly prolonged injures the whole life. The popular recognition of the importance of this question is seen in the revival during recent years of one of the claims put forward in the Chartist rhyme that moved men's hearts some half a century ago. Now, as then, the demand for "eight hours' work," with or without

". . . . eight hours' play,
Eight hours' sleep, and eight shillings a day"—

has become the form in which the widespread desire for greater leisure finds its most frequent expression.

A summary of "the recognized hours of work" in the majority of the trades and occupations of London is given in the table printed at the end of this chapter. Out of 206 occupations there are:—

- 13 in which 48 hours (or less) are worked per week.
- 51 in which over 48 and less than 54 hours are worked.
- 84 in which 54 and less than 60 hours are worked.

29 in which 60 and less than 72 hours are worked.

29 in which 72 hours and upwards are worked.

Particulars with regard to the practice of overtime are also given in a large number of cases.

Though the table shows large groups of trades that are carried on under approximately similar time-conditions, the conspicuous feature is variety; and it is so because of the varying character of other conditions. The amount of skill demanded; the character of the work; seasonal influences; the controlling effects of the Factory Acts; trade customs; the degree of organization achieved; the forethought and capacity of employers and foremen; and the method of remuneration adopted; these are all influences, bearing unequally upon different trades, and apt to bring in elements of widespread variation in the hours worked. Thus, a tram-conductor works long hours because the duties are light, and because many men possess the necessary qualifications; and the abnormally long day of the carman may be similarly explained, for though greater physical strain is sometimes involved, it is compensated to some extent by the long spells of driving and often of simple waiting which accompany his work.

Other typical instances may be mentioned. For example, shop assistants have light work—physically as compared with the mason, and intellectually as compared with the banker's clerk—but their long hours are also to be explained by the habits of late marketing adopted by the working-class consumer; by the fear of loss of custom if an attempt is made to compress the work of the day into fewer hours; and by the absence of any common understanding among the employers or of effective combination among the assistants. In the case of cook-shops and retail pork butchers in poor neighbourhoods, the direct competition of the public-houses is felt, and the fear that a transfer of trade to the licensed houses might follow from earlier closing.

The baker's week, often terribly long, is so, partly because of the insufficiency of organization and the keenness of competition, but partly also because there are long spells of waiting, sometimes even of sleeping, during the process of bread-making. Thus, even though on Friday night and Saturday morning, when the output has to suffice for a two days' supply, a day of very abnormal length results, the nominal hours worked give a somewhat exaggerated impression of the actual strain involved.

The long hours of the East London slipper-maker are due to the fact that the work is seasonal in character, and mostly done at home under keen competition and with low and declining rates of pay. It is work characterized by the severe conditions that tend to prevail amongst the home industries of East London; but here, again, the physical strain of the work is not great.

The miller's shift of twelve hours, day or night, is fixed, as regards the skilled men employed, by the fact that machinery is used which needs comparatively little detailed and constant attention; in addition, the work is only intermittently severe, the greater part of it is unskilled, and keenly competed for; and, finally, there is no supplementary boy or female labour to bring the mills under the hours regulations of the Factory Acts. Among envelope-makers, on the other hand, these regulations are probably the chief influences determining hours, since women and girls make up by far the larger proportion of those employed.

Sometimes the hours of minor trades are determined by those of some superior industry. Thus, gilders who, amongst painters, are generally but a small proportion of those employed, conform to the hours worked by the dominant trade. Vellum binders, again, usually form a department of a larger business, and are subordinated to the conditions of the printing trade. They, therefore, failed to obtain an eight-hours' day, which was secured by the leather and

cloth binders, who work, for the most part, in separate factories, and thus in independence of any allied trade.

In some outdoor occupations—those of gardeners and riggers of ships, for instance—winter, even more stringently than the strongest organization or the strictest official control, enforces a short working day. In other trades, such as that of the operative masons, though the influence of the seasons is seen in the shorter working day of winter, comparatively short hours are maintained throughout the year by means of effective organization based on the possession of acquired skill.

Another illustration of the varying circumstances that affect this question of hours is found in the bonded warehouses, in which the eight hours' day of the Customs (from 8 to 4), fixes also the hours of the labourers employed. The same cause affects to some extent the hours worked at the docks. Finally, basket-workers and tank-makers are instances of trades in which there is great independence as to the time worked, with the result that the working week probably does not average more than forty hours. This independence is due to skill and organization combined with piece-work, so that the weekly average varies in these cases not only with the work to be done, but also, in an exceptional degree, according to the inclination of the man.

These illustrations to some extent explain the fact that the customary working week of London wage-earners varies in length from something under forty to something over one hundred hours. The complexity of the controlling influences and the variety of conditions, point to the probability, almost to the certainty, of permanent differences in the number of hours worked; and the anticipation that a day of uniform length for all occupations will be adopted has, it would appear, no solid basis. Uniformity is indeed almost impossible: any expectations we may form and any conclusions we may draw, must be particular to the individual trade, and will

need constant modification according to its special circumstances.

For any given trade there is doubtless a golden mean, the realization of which will be to the best interests of the whole community. The difficulty is to see where this rests.

Economic efficiency is determined, not simply by the period over which a man works, but also by the intensity of his application, and in every occupation there is a period that is best calculated to secure the greatest return for energy expended. This period undoubtedly varies for different men working even in the same trade and under the same conditions, though for average men, and for an average working life-time, the statement applies to every occupation. But in the endeavour to fix the true point of adjustment, misunderstandings and conflicts frequently arise. Workmen, biassed by the desire for the maximum of remuneration in exchange for a minimum of effort, are inclined to put it too low; employers, thinking rather of the returns of the moment than of the sustained efficiency of their workers, are apt to put it too high. Recent economic history seems to show, however, that gradually the true mean is being discovered, and probably no race has made greater advance than the Anglo-Saxon in realizing that a shorter working day does not necessarily involve diminished material return.

The advance, however, has been unequal. In a certain number of trades we may fairly say, that such an adjustment has been arrived at as leads neither to the waste of products nor to the degradation of men. But while, in a few cases, the number of hours voluntarily worked is so low as to involve a real material loss and waste, in a considerable number of other trades, the length of the working day is still so excessive as to lead to much personal deterioration—to lower vitality and narrower life, and therefore in the long run to actual economic waste.

In the case of the joiner, with a weekly wage of 40*s*, and hours averaging forty-eight per week throughout the year, we may consider that a desirable adjustment has been secured. But on turning to the picture presented by, let us say, the home box-makers, or the cabinet-makers employed in many of the East London workshops, our judgment is reversed. Conditions are felt to be harmful, and we look around for remedies.

But in this matter several points of view are possible. The individual building-contractor, for instance, may quite honestly hold the opinion that, at 40*s*, the wages of his joiners are unnecessarily high, and that their work would be economically more effective if they worked fifty-four instead of forty-eight hours; while the joiners, acquiescing in the forty-eight hour week, may perhaps think that 1*s* instead of 10*d* an hour would be no more than fair pay for an efficient man, and do their best to secure it. In such a case, both employers and employed will consider unsatisfactory what we, from a general standpoint, have assumed to be a reasonable and appropriate adjustment.

We find conflicting opinions even as regards the irregular spells of work, or the extremely long hours, of the East London cabinet-maker or home-worker. Voices of approval make themselves heard. It may be the wholesale factor who speaks, or the retailer, or the City firm that carries on a profitable export trade in cheap home-made products; or it may be the consumer, ignorant perhaps of the sources and conditions of supply, who simply thinks well of a market in which cheap goods abound.

There are at least four points of view from which such questions may be regarded, each selfish in its own way and yet each able to claim a wider justification. The employer finds in profit the basis of industrial stability. The workman rests industrial efficiency, present and future, on the welfare of himself and his family. The merchant claims to work in the interest of the consumer. While the consumer himself,

with a primary concern for his own pocket, may at the same time claim to safeguard the economic position of the whole community. These points of view are suggested to show the bias by which all in their special capacities are apt to be affected, in spite of the concurrence of the enduring interests of all sections.

The amount of work done ultimately determines the remuneration which the wage-earner can secure; but his welfare reacts in the long run upon his industrial efficiency; and to disentangle the consumer from the community, in which he plays many other parts, is not possible. The consciousness of such considerations is, however, seldom strong. "Things are in the saddle, and ride mankind." It is their own burdens of which men are most conscious, and which, should opportunities offer, they will endeavour to shift to other, and in all probability unknown, shoulders.

In forming an opinion upon the time conditions of employment, we are tempted to seek for some average, varying perhaps from trade to trade, but giving us an appropriate level for each. The basis of such a calculation will, however, be affected by the particular characteristics of different occupations. It would be reasonable, for instance, that the bricklayer, engaged in the construction of sewers, should work for shorter hours at the same wage than a brother craftsman working on a building; or, to compare unskilled work of different kinds, that the man employed in white lead works should have a shorter day than the labourer who sweeps the streets.

The point, however, to which we would particularly direct attention, is that, in employments that involve neither great intelligence nor great responsibility, the characteristics summed up in the word *intensity* do not in themselves enable us to judge as to what a reasonable working

day would be. In forming an opinion as to reasonable hours for such classes as door-keepers or watchmen—employments which usually involve neither physical nor mental strain, and demand no skill—we are bound to note such considerations as confinement and the simple occupation of the man's time, for, after a certain point, these have as much importance as more positive forms of effort.

A "fair" day's work must stand in a due relation to the other elements that properly make up a man's life. It is not simply as much as he can do. We must look back from the end of the twenty-four hours, as well as forward from the beginning of the working-day, in order to judge fairly as to how much time ought to be taken up even in the simplest and least exacting forms of employment. Home, rest, and recreation demand recognition, and a not immoderate estimate of their claims leads to the conclusion that even for the easiest tasks, a ten hours' working day on regular employment might be taken as a reasonable maximum. Even in the absence of any quantitative expression, the moral force of the idea of a "living day," analogous to that of a "living wage," might with advantage be brought home to the public mind. For the complete absorption of the life, even with the highest pay, is apt to be as injurious to health and character as the most precarious form of livelihood.

Even so, a balance must be reached between what a man gives and what he gets. If the duties are easy and the hours not long, unless the place be a matter of privilege, the remuneration will surely be low.

Such are some of the more general considerations suggested by a survey of the conditions now prevailing in London, but when we contemplate any change in them, another set of considerations springs into prominence. We are obliged to ask in the case of any proposal

for the reduction of hours, what effect its adoption will have on outside competition with London manufacture; whether, if the London position be weakened, a reduction of wages will be needed, and if needed will be accepted; or again, what will be the effect on the economic efficiency of the individual workman.

To such questions very different replies would have to be given in respect to different trades. Even as regards any single trade, the internal opinion is often conflicting, and a sound conclusion can only be reached after a careful examination of the special conditions, both physical and moral, that affect the response in increased efficiency which the wage-earners concerned may be expected to make.

With regard to the more personal effect of a reduction of hours that does not impair the chances of employment, the whole question of hours derives its importance from the assumption that greater leisure will be advantageous to the individual worker.

This assumption in any particular case may clearly be as false as the belief that because a man can earn more money he is therefore certain to be in a better material position, for time and money can be squandered with equal ease. In spite, however, of the waste of leisure that is witnessed on every hand, the common claim for a greater share of it is justified by the great balance of advantages that it tends to secure. An increasingly urgent demand has therefore arisen for a greater margin of leisure available for the home, and for all that rounds life off, and makes it a completer thing—a demand urged not only on behalf of the artisan and mechanic, who in many trades are well situated in this respect, but for all whose industrial position unduly narrows life and makes it run too completely in the grooves of their daily work.

But if good rather than harm is to result, steps towards improvement, as in the past, must ever be tentative and

experimental. In certain cases of flagrant excess, as in that of many female shop-assistants, the community, acting if need be through Government, might tilt almost blindfold against abuses that exist, and rest assured that the physical and moral gain would more than counterbalance any temporary dislocation of some particular trade. But as a rule it is safer to follow an opposite method and make careful calculation of all the consequences of change.

Up to the present time, however, there seems to be little risk of a too hasty advance, and the national caution, here as in other matters that involve economic considerations, is showing itself in a national deliberateness.

One great hindrance will have been removed when the lesson of the elasticity of the power of human response has been fully learnt; when it is realized, for instance, that, even with machinery, while its speed and capacity remain the same, output may often be maintained though hours be diminished; for in factories, in which the operative is sometimes regarded as of secondary importance to the machine, this "reserve of personal efficiency," to quote Mr. Rae's phrase, will tell; while in the case of all skilled labour, in which machinery plays no part, the possible effects of this subtle, unknown, and often unexpected expansion of individual power, may be important beyond measure. Few more fatal fallacies have hindered the path of industrial reform than the superficial assumption, happily dying, that return can be safely measured in terms of the hours of employment.

But, on the other hand, there is great difficulty in estimating the effect of improved time conditions over long periods. A shorter working day is calculated to act at first as a stimulus upon the energies of the operative, but impulses of this nature are rarely of sustained strength. Whether such effects will last depends on the use to which the increased leisure is put; on the interest of the operative in maintaining the new order of things; and on the strict-

ness, and it may be the increased strictness, of superintendence.

In the case of overtime we find the obverse of this picture, and many employers, while accepting the necessity of occasional spells of it, are strongly opposed to its more prolonged use. They find that "it does not really pay;" that after a very short time "the extra hour you get at night is taken off the next morning;" and that you "do not get a *consistent* extra for the extra hours, even on machines, although they depend less on the physical state of the man."

Overtime may, therefore, ultimately involve economic waste, and shorter hours economic gain. Success or failure for employers or employed and the likelihood of the continued adoption of any change introduced, will thus greatly depend on maintaining the previous measure of efficiency.

A discussion of proposals made with a view of securing shorter hours by governmental action opens up too wide a subject to be fully discussed here. We may note, however, that two broad questions are involved, the one connected with the economic characteristics of particular trades, the other rather with the personal characteristics of the workers.

Of these questions the former would demand much the same analysis wherever the trade might be located; since it would always be necessary to consider such points as the character of the work, the relation to other markets, the available machinery for enforcing regulations, and the effect on expenses of production, as well as on the position of subsidiary or allied trades. Apart, however, from such economic points, there are others which call for special consideration as regards London.

The extent to which legal enforcement is possible depends everywhere very largely upon the personal element involved. If the individual members of a trade are "solid" with regard

to some particular observance, the difficulties of working any compulsory rule are either insurmountable, if the men are solidly adverse, or simplicity itself, if they are solidly favourable. Rarely, however, is there any such consensus of opinion. In this, as in other connections, from variations in temperament, in physique, in family, or from other causes, the personal equation has many values.

The difficulty of enforcing uniformity of conditions, therefore, is considerable, even in highly centralized, well-organized trades, carried on under the large system of production; but in London—that congeries of unknown millions, and home of a multitude of small industries—it is vastly greater. Even should the prescribed day be apparently observed, difficulty in enforcement might still sometimes arise, for the practice of working for two employers is not unknown. Among printers' warehousemen, labourers, and machinists, the practice of working at night for a second master is not uncommon; and complaints of a similar "unfair" prolongation of the day's work are made among the zinc-workers. But the evasion of the normal day takes place more often through the medium of home employment: the carpenter and joiner "with his bench in his back kitchen" is said to be a great offender in this respect; and among the glass painters, including even those who have permanent situations at high wages, a similar charge is made against men who tout for work to do at home, after having had a day's employment in a shop. Whether greed or the most devoted sacrifice be the motive, the practical difficulties of checking such practices remain to a great extent the same, while in the latter event the case in favour of interference loses whatever ground it might otherwise possess.

Putting strictly economic considerations on one side, the strength of the obstacles to be overcome by the advocates of legislative interference will be determined largely by the trend of public feeling; but the existence of a

strong trade opinion is probably a factor of almost equal importance. At present, however, the public voice is uncertain, while the trade voice is often either inarticulate or discordant or unstable.

Incidental reference has been already made to the question of overtime, and in some trades it is this question, rather than that of the length of the regular working day, that is uppermost. Especially is this so when no extra rates are paid, when the overtime is not merely periodically excessive, but systematic, and when therefore the regulation day tends to be practically unrecognized. Except in these more systematic forms, overtime may be regarded as one of the numerous effects of irregularity in the volume of trade.

It is worthy of note that the allied ideas of Irregular Employment and Overtime are now more constantly before the public mind than they have been at any previous period. The recurring problem of unemployment is, in fact, only an extension of that of irregularity, while the idea of overtime has been made more definite by the regulations of the Factory Acts and the action of trade unions.

The meaning of overtime varies from trade to trade, and from decade to decade; and needs the correlative idea of a recognized working day, to give it any approach to an exact value. With many occupations the idea has no meaning. To the peasant proprietor of the Swiss valleys, sharing in its communal rights, it is unknown; in the summer he works from the early morning till long after full daylight fails, but the hours for him are simply a day of prolonged and probably willing labour: it is life to him to tend his crops; and the safe ingathering of the harvest, no matter how laborious the task, is his great reward. But the idea of overtime is hardly more foreign to his mind than to that of the London omnibus driver, who prefers to

work for days of fifteen hours instead of twelve, and to have more money or be able to take a larger number of occasional holidays, than to work more uniformly for the shorter day. Again, in the case of the more hardly placed East London home-workers—the slipper-maker, for instance, who in the busy season works for thirteen or fourteen hours, “which is not considered long in our trade”—we have a class of workers who are similarly free from any idea that they are working overtime.

The term seems, in short, to imply one or both of two things: in all cases regulation, either official or customary, of the length of the regular day; and sometimes also, should longer hours be worked, differing rates of pay. In the case of the female factory hand, working a prescribed excess on a certain number of days, we have a concrete case of overtime, with its limits clearly defined by Act of Parliament,—and meaning in this country, it may be noted, different things during different periods of the present century. In the case of the operative mason, again, with a strong trade union and a forty-eight hours normal working week, and with increased rates of pay for all extra time, we have an example of overtime defined in the minds of the members of this trade according to the understanding arrived at between their trade society and the employers’ association.

The problem of overtime is therefore closely connected with the larger question of the length of the working day. Most of the points raised by its discussion, such as the effect on the individual and on the output, have their corresponding place in any consideration of the hours worked in any trade.

From one point of view, however, the question of overtime requires separate treatment. The length of the working day, whether long or short, is assumed to be something fixed. Overtime, on the other hand, is an expedient by which variation in the working day is made

possible to suit certain contingencies, and it is on the nature of these contingencies that its reasonableness or unreasonableness depends. It may be noted that so far as the extent of the irregularity of work depends on the capacity and forethought of employers or their deputies, the resource of overtime will find an automatic check against abuse in all those cases in which special overtime rates are paid.

When the volume of work varies necessarily, the objection to overtime becomes more problematic, and the policy of those organized bodies of workmen who aim at its complete elimination is in such cases very questionable. The Trade Union opposition to the practice is largely explained, as is often also the advocacy of an eight hours' day, by the desire to secure a more equal apportionment of work among all members of a trade. But, since in many occupations a certain fluctuation in the volume of employment cannot be avoided, it follows that either additional labour must from time to time be requisitioned or extra hours must be worked. If, therefore, overtime be discountenanced, additional workers must be engaged during these unavoidable periods of great pressure, and as a further result the number of those intermittently employed will be increased. For all who are employed only during the busier season, since they are likely to be the less competent, will be unemployed, so far as this trade is concerned, during other periods of the year. Their industrial tenure will be necessarily insecure, and a hard-and-fast rule forbidding overtime, although it might seem to share the work among a larger number of men, might under such circumstances indirectly lead to the permanent degradation of those who, if the hours of employment had been more elastic, would have been prevented from picking up this temporary and precarious livelihood. It does not follow that the position of the discarded men would have been bettered, but

any trade arrangements that facilitate, and perhaps even make necessary, the existence of a body of hangers-on who cannot hope to secure regular and decent wages, must be harmful in the long run both to the trade of which they may be regarded as the industrial camp followers, and also to themselves.

This argument applies only to those trades in which the requirements of additional labour necessarily vary, but in which the variations do not involve injuriously excessive application, which cannot be reasonably balanced by holidays in slack times; it leaves unweakened the widespread opposition to systematic overtime. It serves, however, to show that overtime, under certain conditions, may have real utility, and that opposition to it may be shortsighted and unreasonable. For by it the field of employment in any trade may be made desirably elastic; and besides diminishing the danger of increasing the number of the casually employed, it may provide opportunities of making up for the short time to which even those in fairly regular work are, in the great majority of trades, liable at some period of the year.

The rigid elimination of overtime, like the strict enforcement of an eight hours' day, might for a time, under certain circumstances, absorb some proportion of the unemployed, but such methods can have no permanent value as a solution of the difficulties of unemployment, except on the assumption that they will be followed by a greater moral restraint and general foresight.

The extent to which overtime aids in securing continuous employment largely determines the opinion with which we regard it. In connection with both overtime and the hours of labour, however, there is another and deeper consideration in their effects on the larger question of sustained life-efficiency.

But this consideration is frequently lost sight of by

the actual parties to a contract for the employment of labour. The present and the immediate future absorb attention: on the one side perhaps the wife to be won, or the home to be kept together; on the other success to be achieved, or the disgrace of bankruptcy to be averted. These and similar disturbing forces press upon the individual, limiting his freedom, dictating the conditions of his industrial life, and distorting his judgment. It is the more necessary, therefore, to keep steadily in view the main industrial object of securing that desirable combination of hours and work which, without sacrificing private life, secures the most capable, willing, and effective service. From the limited points of view of the individual operative or employer, excessive toil may seem to be consistent with, and even necessary to, their more immediate objects, but since excess implies some subsequent form of deterioration, it can rarely be compatible with the interests of the community at large.

Hospitals, for instance, require the services of nurses for a few years only, and the supply of new probationers is abundant, but it can hardly be doubted that the long hours exacted during the period of training are injurious to after-vigour of mind and body. And thus, though the hospitals themselves may be well and economically served, the nurses, and ultimately the community as a whole, pay the penalty.

It may, however, be asked whether the excessive labour of some one class may not lead permanently to a greater productive efficiency for the community than could otherwise be secured.

It is quite possible to imagine conditions under which the loafing and the vicious might, if isolated, and treated like the galley slaves of the Middle Ages, be more useful as over-worked men than if they worked under easier conditions, and no public loss even if worked to death. But the moral effect on the community, though it were able to

regard this severe lot in the light of deterrent punishment, could hardly fail to be bad. In a minor degree such discipline might seem desirable in many cases, but amongst us no such segregation is possible. The willing and the idle, the over-worked and the under-worked, jostle in the same crowd, live in the same street, and move in the same civic life ; all alike in their own ways exert their measure of influence, and all alike beget children. It is thus inevitable that the whole community should suffer from the deterioration of any section ; from this there is no escape. In the social state, no man or woman, however lonely, stands apart, and later generations, if not we ourselves, will suffer from the effects of every form of present degradation.

The form of degradation that follows from excessive hours of labour takes different shapes. It may even be compatible with regular work, good wages, and abundant food ; for too long hours tend to create a mechanical and absorbed mind, indifferent alike to home and to the wider interests of life. Such degradation is perhaps undetected, and is the more subtle because more self-absorbing than the extremer forms of the same evil. It may not involve as great economic or physical evils, but its moral effects are hardly less regrettable and sinister.

In spite, however, of much excess—some working-days robbing toil of all tranquility, and others rather inducing a kind of tranquility that is almost the negation of life—recent tendencies give undoubted indications of improvement. Of these, perhaps most important of all, are the signs that the point of view of a large and influential section of the community is changing, and becoming at once more enlightened and more sympathetic. We are already a stage beyond the mere recognition of the need to live. The modern world is ready, not only to see the necessity of life, but of a life worth living.

On examination, we find that almost every social and economic question, including this of the hours of labour, derives its ultimate practical importance from a more widely spread and more human care for the individual life; John Smith, "fit" or "unfit," with Mary his wife and their family of young children—their labour and their life—are seen to be the final cause of the present inquiry. But when we thus reach the individual, we reach also our dilemma. John Smith is a "free" man, and so also is his employer, and it is perhaps the highest social aim to realize, maintain, and develop the freedom of both, in their mutual as in all other relationships. If therefore it suits the one and seems to suit the other, or if the workman sees no other road open to him but to accept excessive hours of work, in what directions can we look for the solution of the difficulty in which he plunges himself? Many are impatient of patience, and the claims of slow methods of improvement are apt to elicit a chill response. Nevertheless, it is upon them that progress must mainly rely.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

SUMMARY

OF

HOURS OF WORK, OVERTIME, AND PRINCIPAL METHODS OF REMUNERATION IN LONDON TRADES.

(A) TRADES WORKING 48 HOURS OR LESS PER WEEK.

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
BUILDING- WORKERS. Vol. I., p. 170.	Plumbers	42½—47	Winter—summer Making yearly average of 46 hours per week. Work begins 7 a.m.	Hour	Overtime reduced since 1892. 8—11 p.m., time and half rate. 11—7 a.m., double time rate
	Wood carvers...	48	In best shops. Else- where same as cabi- net-makers	Hour	
WOOD- WORKERS. Vol. I., p. 190, 257, 271.	Dock-coopers...	42—48	Winter—summer	Week	
	Shipwrights ...	44½—51	6.30 a.m.—5 p.m., sum- mer. Daylight to dark, winter	Piece (a few on day work)	
SUNDRY MANUF. Vol. II., p. 86.	Stained-glass painters	44—48	Some work 54 hours	Week	
PRINTING, &c. Vol. II., p. 249.	Bookbinders ...	48	Begin 8—9 a.m. End 6.30—7.30 p.m.	Week and piece	Overtime at time and quarter after 54 hours. Little since 1892
	Book-edge gild- ers	48	Obtained after few hours' strike	Week	Short time usual when slack
	Marblers	48	54 hours when work- ing at a printer's	Week	
TEXTILES. Vol. II., p. 312.	Mat-makers ...	48	Average does not ex- ceed 30. Work inter- mittent	Piece	

Trades working 48 hours or less per week (continued):—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
PUBLIC SERVICE AND PROFITS. Vol. III, p. 63, Vol. IV, pp. 32, 112, 127.	Feather-curlers	48	9 a.m.—7 p.m. on week days; 3 p.m. Saturdays	Week	Overtime after 7 p.m.
	Sewer-flushers.	(average) 45	Seldom exceed 50	Week	
PUBLIC SERVICE AND PROFITS. Vol. III, p. 63, Vol. IV, pp. 32, 112, 127.	Engravers (copper plate)	42—48	Hours irregular, especially when working in employer's room	Piece	
	Engravers (wood)	42—48		Piece (a few by the hour)	
	Scene-painters.	45—51	10 a.m. to 7 or 8 p.m.	Week	

(B) TRADES WORKING OVER 48 AND UNDER 54 HOURS PER WEEK.

BUILDING Vol. I, pp. 106, 124, 163, & seq.	Clerks of works	47—50	Winter—summer Hours fixed for all sections of the building trades except plumbers, by agreement of 1892 Average hours for the year, 48½. Work begins 6.30 or 7 a.m. Much variation in hours of painters	Week	Overtime much reduced since 1892, except for those engaged in painting and white-washing Overtime rates are 4.30 or 5—8 p.m. at time and a quarter, 8—10 p.m. at time and a half. After 10 p.m. at double time. Extra pay for work on Saturday afternoon and on Sundays
	Bricklayers.....	" "		Hour	
	Masons	" "		"	
	Plasterers	" "		"	
	Carpenters and joiners	" "		"	
	Painters and glaziers	" "		"	
	Gas-fitters	" "		"	
	Scaffolders	" "		"	
	Labourers	" "		"	
	Smiths and fitters (builders). Marble-masons and polishers.	" "		"	
WOODWORKERS. Vol. I, pp. 181, 191, 198, 199, 254, 276.		52—54		"	
	Cabinet-makers	52—56	Usually 52½ or 54	Hour and piece	Overtime very exceptional. Suppressed by Trade Society
	Carvers and gilders	52½—53½	Men on common frames work 54 to 60 hours and are piece-workers	Hour and piece	
	Upholsterers ...	52—56	.....	Hour and piece	
	Mattress and palliasse-makers	52½	Time seldom kept, except when busy	Mostly piece	
	Brewers' and other tight coopers	51	Start in summer at 7 a.m. and winter at 8 a.m. Saturdays at 6 a.m.	Piece (a few day work)	
	Riggers	51	Start 7 a.m.	Day	Men paid every night. More short time than overtime

Trades working over 48 and under 54 hours per week (continued):—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
METAL WORKERS. Vol. I., pp. 339, 348, 373, 382, 387.	Tank-makers or rivetters	54	About 40 hours actually worked	Piece	
	Cutlers	52	.....	Hour	Extra pressure at Christmas
	Brass-workers .	50—54	54 regarded by union as maximum	Hour and piece	
	Tin and iron-plate workers .	50—54	Start at 6 a.m. in ship- ping and 8 to 10 a.m. in general branches	Hour and piece	Overtime exceptional; short time proverbial
	Tin-canister makers	51—56	.....	Piece	Marked decrease in amount of overtime
PRECIOUS METALS, &c. Vol. II., pp. 9, 11, 64.	Jewellers and goldsmiths	50	Reduced from 56 by trade union action	Hour and piece	A great deal of over- time when busy, bal- anced by short time when slack
	Silversmiths ...	50—52	In some cases 56. Best piece hands do their work between Tuesday and Friday night	Hour and piece	
	Billiard-table makers	51½	Begin 9 a.m.	Hour and piece	
SUNDRY MANUFACTURES. Vol. II., pp. 82, 105, 133, 136, 161.	Glass-makers .	48—56	48 hours in large fac- tories	Piece	
	Match-makers .	52—56	Begin at 8 a.m. in winter and 6 a.m. in summer	Men by week; girls piece	
	Curriers	48—54	.....	Week and piece	
	Fur-skin dress- ers	52½—54½	Unhairers start at 8 a.m.	Piece (dyers by week)	Shavers begin later, but may not finish before 10 or 11 p.m.
	Brush-makers .	48—54	Factories open about 8 or 9 hours per day	Piece	Work intermittent
PRINTING, &c. Vol. II., pp. 230, 272, 276, 278.	Litho artists ...	53—54	Some only work 44 hours	Week	Overtime in busy sea- son
	Paper-stainers .	52—56	Block-printers seldom exceed 48—50 hours	Piece (machine workers by week)	Machine printers may work 70 hours when busy
	Bill-posters ...	52—56	Start 7 or 8 a.m.	Week	
	Sandwich men .	51—57	Start 8.30 a.m.	Day	Overtime after 6 p.m.; 2d per hour

Trades working over 48 and under 54 hours per week (continued):—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
TEXTILES. Vol. II., pp. 315, 316.	Pattern tracers	48—54	.....	Week	Much overtime in busy seasons
	Bass-dressers ...	(about) 52	Full time seldom worked	Piece	
DRESS. Vol. III., pp. 59, 61, 62, 68, 50, 33. Also Vol. IV., pp. 264-8.	Trimming weavers and spinners	51½—53½	8 a.m. to 7 p.m. 1½ hours for meals	Weavers piece; spinners by week	Hours given include meal times. March very busy—meals taken at work. Hours under 48 in slack time
	Artificial-flower makers	52½—55	Men work 60 hours, according to Board of Trade return	Piece(few by week)	
	Umbrella-frame makers and machinists	40—52½	9 a.m. to 8 p.m. or 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.	Week and piece	
	Drapers' wholesale salesmen	45—61	These hours represent the two extremes. 9 a.m. to 5 or 6 p.m. in winter, and till 7 or 8 p.m. in summer	Yearly salary, board and lodging	
	Silk-hatters ...	40—50	9 a.m. to 8 p.m. January—July. 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. July—December	Piece	
FOOD AND DRINK. Vol. IV., p. 224. Vol. III., p. 298.	Felt-hatters ...	49—54	A nominal 9 hours day	Piece	
	Tobacco workers	50	9 a.m. to 7 p.m. Half day on Saturday	Week and piece	
	Fish - salesmen (wholesale)	48—54	5 a.m. to 1 or 2 p.m. Not much work after 9 a.m.	Week	
LOCO MOTION &c. Vol. III., p. 353.	Gardeners (County Council)	48—54	Winter—summer	Week	

Trades working over 48 and under 54 hours per week (continued):—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
LABOUR. Vol. III., pp. 395, 402, 438.	Dock officials..	48—54	8 a.m. — 4.30 p.m. summer. 9 a.m. — 4.30 p.m. winter	Week	No pay for overtime, but time off allowed in compensation
	Warehousemen (bonded)	45—51	Winter—summer.	Week	40 hours when slack to 68 when busy. Extra pay given by employers to officials
	Coal-porters ...	48—54	Average 9 hours per day, but much longer when unloading ships	Piece	
PUBLIC, PROFESSIONAL, AND OTHER SERVICE. Vol. IV., pp. 84, 116, 245.	Artificial - teeth makers	48½—51	8 or 8.30 a.m. to 6 p.m. Saturdays 2 p.m.	Week	Overtime about 6 hours per week throughout the year
	Photographers .	51—54	8 a.m. to 6.30 or 7 p.m. 1½ hours for meals	Week	In studios 52-60 hours usual, and sometimes part of Sunday
	Park-attendants	(Average) 52½	48 hours per week from November to February. 54 for rest of year	Week	Overtime rates from 6d to 7½d per hour

(C) TRADES WORKING 54 AND UNDER 60 HOURS PER WEEK.

BUILDING. Vol. I., p. 106.	Slaters and tilers	56½	One witness says 55½ hours	Hour	Some overtime, but no special rates
WOOD WORKERS. Vol. I., pp. 185, 188, 193, 204, 212.	French - polishers	55½	Reduced to 52½ when working with Building Trades	Hour	Time and a quarter for first 2 hours. Time and a half for second 2 hours. Double rates for over 4 hours
	Glass-bevellers.	54	All grades included	Piece and hour	
	Gilders	52—58	56½ usual in picture-frame shops	Hour	
	Box-makers ...	56½	7 a.m. to 7 p.m., and till 2 p.m. on Saturdays	Piece	
	Packing-case makers	56½	Start work 6 a.m.	Hour	
	Basket-makers .	60	Hours irregular. Men seldom start before 9 a.m.	Piece	

Trades working 54 and under 60 hours per week (continued):—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
WOOD WORKERS (continued)— Vol. I., pp. 214, 220, 225, 240, 262, 273, 277, 278.	Bamboo and cane workers	59	7 a.m. to 7 p.m. in factories	Piece (a few by week)	Very long hours at times
	Wood-choppers.	56—57	Nominally fixed, but very irregular in practice	Piece	
	Van-builders....	54	6 a.m. to 5 p.m., or 7 a.m. to 6 p.m.	Piece and time	Long hours more common with small than with large employers, especially in busy summer months
	Coach-builders .	54—55½	7 a.m. to 7 p.m.; 2 p.m. on Saturdays. 2 hours for meals	Piece	
	Lath-renders ...	56—57	.....	Piece	
	Barge-builders .	54	.....	Day	Overtime rate, 10½d. Very little worked
	Mast and block makers	51—57	Winter—summer. Winter, November 1—February 14	Day	
	Sail-makers ...	54	Work very irregular	Piece	
METAL WORKERS, Vol. I., pp. 301, 317, 322, 329, 337, 344.	Engineers, &c. .	54	6 a.m. to 5 p.m. 1 p.m. on Saturdays. Hours rather longer in Railway shops	Mainly by week—some piece	Time and a quarter first 2 hours. Time and a half afterwards. But little overtime now worked
	Gas-meter makers	54	.....	Piece	
	Boiler-makers and iron-ship builders	54	.....	Day and piece	Double rates (1s 6d) after 5 p.m. 24—30 hours at a stretch permissible on ship repairs under Union rules
	Farriers	54—61	These hours are for omnibus and tram-yards. Ordinary forges start 6 a.m. and go on till finished	Day and piece	9 to 9½ hours a normal day
	Iron-founders...	54	.....	Week	Overtime at customary extra rates
	Iron-safe makers	54	Nominal. Average probably under 50 hours	Piece	Overtime unknown, except when fixing safes at a bank

Trades working 54 and under 60 hours per week (continued):—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
METAL WORKERS (continued).— Vol. I., pp. 351, 369, 371, 375, 380, 389.	Type-founders .	54	One firm works 48	Hour, week, or piece	
	Brass-founders .	54	Task qualification for moulders	Hour	
	Brass-finishers .	54	.....	Hour or piece	
	Coppersmiths...	54	Irregular, except in railway shops	Hour or day	
	Pewterers	54—58	.....	Week and piece	
	Wire-workers...	55—60	Usually start 8 a.m.	Piece	
PRECIOUS METALS, &c. Vol. II., pp. 31, 40, 38, 43, 58, 63, 65, 66, 68.	Clock-makers...	54	.....	Hour	
	Philosophical Instrument makers	54—60	.....	Hour and piece	
	Surgical Instrument makers .	52—58½	Averages shown by wages' returns	Week	Overtime the rule
	Electric light-ing workers	54—56	8 hour shifts for engine-room staff	Week	Much overtime for some men
	Pianoforte makers	54—56	48 in large firms in summer	Piece	Work until 10 or mid-night when busy favoured by men
	Harmonium and American organ makers	54—56	.....	Time and piece	
	Cricket-ball makers	56	.....	Piece	Overtime when very busy
	Other makers of games' materials	(about) 56	.....		
SUNDRY MANUFACTURES. Vol. II., pp. 86, 89, 90, 92, 101.	Tobacco pipes (briar) makers	(about) 55	8.30 a.m. to 8 p.m.		
	Stained-glass glaziers	(about) 54	.....	Week	
	Earthenware throwers and moulders	56—60	Standard hours, but not well kept	Piece	
	Kiln-setters ...	(irregular)	Dependent on cooling of kilns	Piece	
	Red-potters ...	56	.....	Piece	
	Chemical workers	54—56	.....	Hour or week	20 or even 30 hours' overtime when busy. Two shifts sometimes worked

Trades working 54 and under 60 hours per week (continued):—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
SUNDRY MANUFACTURES— <i>continued</i> . Vol. II., pp. 103, 131, 141, 142, 155, 175.	White-lead workers	56—59	Casual work. 3 days only worked by those in unhealthy departments	Day or week	
	Leather-glazers	57—60	.....	Week	Overtime about 1 day per week during summer, but short time from October to March Very busy November, slack after Christmas
	Portmanteau makers	54	.....	Week and piece	
	Fancy leather workers	54	.....	Week	
	Saddlers	50½	.....	Piece, a few by the hour	
	Horse-hair workers	56	.....	Piece	
PRINTING. Vol. II., pp. 214, 216, 218, 219, 220, 222, 246, 263, 265, 269, 287.	Compositors ...	54	8 a.m. to 7 or 7.30 p.m. Saturdays 12 or 2 p.m.	Week and piece	
	Machine managers	54	8 a.m. to 7 p.m. Saturdays 2 p.m. 12 hours for night-men, 7—7	Week	Much overtime and night work on newspapers and magazines
	Rotary printing-machine workers	54	... ..	Week	Special overtime rates
	Warehousemen and cutters	54	.....	Week	Much night work
	Copperplate printers	54	Full time worked by few	Piece	
	Lithographic printers	54	.....	Week	Not much overtime except for artists. Special rates when necessary
	Vellum binders	54	Usually employed in printing works and follow printers' hours	Week	
	Envelope makers	48—59	8.30 a.m. to 6, 7 or 8 p.m.	Piece	Learners paid weekly wages
	Cardboard box makers	55—58	8 or 9 a.m. to 8 p.m.	Mainly piece	
	Paper-bag makers	57½—58½	8 a.m. to 8 p.m. 1 or 2 p.m. Saturdays	Piece	
	Stationers' countermen (wholesale)	54	Same hours as printers	Week	

Trades working 54 and under 60 hours per week (continued) :—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
DRESS. Vol. III, pp. 11, 37, 46, 62.	Tailors' salesmen	58—61	Less 5 to 7½ hours for meals. 8.30 a.m. to 7 or 7.30 p.m.	Week	65—78 hours in suburban shops, meals excluded
	Cap makers ...	(about) 60	8 a.m. to 8 p.m.	Piece	Work for 8 months in year only
	Milliners and dressmakers	59½	Maximum. 8.30 a.m. to 8 p.m. 4 p.m. Saturdays	Week and piece	Maximum is generally worked during busy season and often exceeded
	Walking-stick makers	57	8 a.m. to 8 p.m. 6 p.m. on Mondays. 2 p.m. Saturdays	Week and piece	
FOOD AND DRINK. Vol. III, pp. 163, 122, 131, 161, 199, 210, 215, 206, 232, 234.	Millers	59	Day and night shifts	Week	Overtime general in mills
	Brewers	50—64	Start 5 or 6 a.m. and continue till work is done	Week	Unusual to allow overtime rates
	Mineral-water makers	55	8 a.m. to 7.30 p.m.	Week and piece	Much overtime in summer
	Confectioners...	(about) 58	7 a.m. to 7 p.m. when working in bake-house	Men by week; women by week and piece	
	Butchers' salesmen (wholesale)	(about) 56	Inclusive of meals. Smithfield opens 4 a.m.	Week	
	Haddock curers	(about) 54	Start 10 a.m.	Day	Extra pay for night work
	Grocers' warehousemen (wholesale)	54	One case 44 hours	Week	Overtime—Oct.—Jan. paid 4d to 8d per hour
	Meat essence makers	51—57	Men 8 a.m. to 7.30 p.m., and women 9 a.m. to 7 p.m.	Week	Overtime 6d per hour
	Cellar-men.....	54	45 hours in bonded warehouses. Begin 8 a.m.	Week	
	Distillers	51—60	.....	Week	
LOCOMOTION. Vol. III, p. 336.	Platelayers.....	54	Average 9 hours per day, exclusive of meals	Week	

Trades working 54 and under 60 hours per week(continued) :—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
LABOUR Vol. III pp. 429, 432, 475.	Gasworkers ...	52—54	52 in carbonising department. Start 6 a.m. Sometimes 3 shifts of 8 hours	Week (a few piece)	72 hours when working 2 shifts in the carbonising department
	Engine drivers and firemen (stationary)	52—60	Hours vary with trade with which it is connected	Hour or week	Overtime rates dependent on connected trade
	Stevedores	54	7 a.m. to 5 p.m. Night work 5 p.m. to 7 a.m.	Day	1s per hour for overtime
PUBLIC, PROFESSIONAL, AND OTHER SERVICE. Vol. IV, pp. 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 38, 229, 273. See also pp. 36, 37.	Road sweepers..	48—60	Average 54 to 58½ hours. 50 to 51 hours in winter	Week	Overtime very rare
	Dustmen.....	55—60	Average. Extremes range from 48—71½ hours	Week (some gratuities)	
	Slopmen	55—60	Extreme range 46—71½ hours	Week	
	Gullymen	48—60	.....	Week	
	Street masons and paviors	48—60	About 56 is the average	Week	In season some work after shop is closed
	Road labourers	48—60	.....	Week	
	Shampooers (Turkish bath)	54—72	.....	Week and gratuities	
	Hairdressers ...	60—66	Less 9 hours for meals. 9 a.m. to 7 or 8 p.m.	Week (wig-makers piece)	

(D) TRADES WORKING 60 AND UNDER 72 HOURS PER WEEK.

WOOD- WORKERS. Vol. I, p. 238.	White coopers..	60	.....	Piece	
METAL- WORKERS. Vol. I, p. 301.	Metallic cask and drum makers	60	Nominal. Not more than 52—54 hours actually worked	Piece	
PRECIOUS METALS. Vol. II, p. 16.	Gold and silver wire drawers and spinners	32½—65	Slack and ordinary full time	Day and piece	

Trades working 60 and under 72 hours per week (continued):—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
SUNDRY MANUFACTURES. Vol. II., pp. 124, 118, 128, 129.	Soap and candle makers	60—62½	10 or 10½ hours day. 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. Saturdays 4 p.m.	Day and piece	Much overtime when busy. Returns show average ranges of 56½ to 69½ hours
	Glue and size makers	61	.....	Week	
	Lime jobbers (leather dressing)	60	.....	Hour	Often work overtime
	Tanners	60	.....	Week and piece	Usually make 5 hours overtime per week
	Shedmen (leather dressing)	Long hours	Often work on Sundays	Hour and piece	
PRINTING. Vol. I., pp. 261, 257, 299.	Paper makers...	60—66	Women — men. Two 12 hour shifts for men Less 6 to 8½ hours for meals	Week	Men on machines average 57½ hours, omitting meal times
	Stationers' countermen (retail)	(about) 61—74	Less 6 to 8½ hours for meals	Week	
	Booksellers' countermen (retail)	(about) 61—74	Less 6 to 8½ hours for meals	Week	
	Newsagents (wholesale)	(about) 62—66	Start 3 or 4 a.m. for country trade, and 3 to 5.30 a.m. for town trade	Week	
DRESS. Vol. III., pp. 68, 69.	Drapers (wholesale)	61	8 a.m. to 8 p.m. normal	Month or week	Longer hours on show days
	Drapers (retail)	59—74½	Women 56—67 hours	Month or week	71—76 hours in medium sized shops and still longer in winter
FOOD. Vol. III., pp. 100, 110, 112, 151.	Sugar refiners...	60	Two 12 hour shifts. 2 hours allowed for meals	Week	Work regular through year
	Oil millers	62½	Two 12 hour shifts from midnight on Sunday	Week	Bonus given on increased out-put
	Oil refiners.....	60	6 a.m. to 6 p.m. with 1½ hours for meals	Week	
	Bakers (bread and biscuit)	60	These are factory hours	Week	Time and a half paid after 60 hours

Trades working 60 and under 72 hours per week (continued):—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
LOCOMOTION. Vol. III., p. 336, 351.	Engine drivers .	60	10 hours' day and no meal times. 8½ hours on District Railway	Week	Overtime at time and a quarter frequent
	Passenger guards	60	.....	Week	
	Firemen	60	.....	Week	
	Gardeners (jobbing, nursery, or market)	60—63	In summer, hours begin 6 a.m. Winter, daylight to dusk	Day and piece	Overtime paid 2½d to 4½d per hour for market gardeners on special jobs
LABOUR. Vol. III., pp. 462, 466.	Export packers.	61	7 a.m. to 7 p.m. Meals 1½ hours. Saturdays till 1 p.m.	Week	Overtime not uncommon
	Wharf labourers	60—72	6 or 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.	Hour or week	
PUBLIC, PROFESSIONAL, AND OTHER SERVICE. Vol. IV., pp. 35, 198, 237, 261, 275.	Asphalte paviors	57—66	.....	Week	
	Grave diggers...	(about) 60	6 a.m. to 6 p.m. 2 hours for meals	Week and piece	Overtime worked when busy in winter
	Waitresses	(about) 60	8 a.m. to 8 p.m. (in tea rooms)	Week (some gratuities)	
	Washing service	60	Full hours seldom worked except by packers and sorters	Men by week; women day and piece	Overtime 3d per hour after 8 p.m.
	Barbers	60—85	9 a.m. to 8 p.m. with 1 hour for meals	Week (some gratuities)	Longer hours usual in small shops

(E) TRADES WORKING 72 HOURS AND UPWARDS PER WEEK.

PRINTING. Vol. II., p. 229.	Newsagents (retail)	81	Less meal times. Begin 6 a.m.	Week	
	Hosiery	71	Start 8.30 a.m.	Month or week	

Trades working 72 hours and upwards per week (continued):—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
FOOD AND DRINK. Vol. III., pp. 122, 149, 199, 177, 179, 200, 210, 217, 226, 235, 237.	Draymen (brewers)	64—101	74—101 in busy weeks. 64—94 in slack weeks	Week	Time off allowed by one firm
	Bakers (bread)	70—80	Hours in retail shops	Week	Some work 90 to 100 hours
	Market porters	72	Hours vary, but average not less than 12 per day	Day and piece	
	Cowmen	88	Inclusive of meal times, 4 a.m. to 5 p.m.	Week	
	Milk carriers (wholesale)	75	Meal times excluded. Start 4 a.m.	Week	
	Milk carriers (retail)	(about) 87	Including meals. Start 5 a.m.	Week	Work every day in the year
	Butchers' shopman (retail)	(about) 84	Including meals. Start 6 or 7 a.m.	Week	
	Fishmongers (retail)	(about) 72	7 a.m. to 9 p.m. 2 hours for meals	Week	
	Grocers (retail)	70—75	8 a.m. to 9.30 p.m.	Week	Close 11 or 12 on Fridays and Saturdays
	Greengrocers (retail)	(about) 84	Start 3 a.m.	Week	
LOCOMOTION. Vol. III., pp. 314, 292, 325, 327, 336, 326.	Barmen	81—88	Average 12 to 13 hours per day and 10 on Sundays	Week	
	Potmen	81—88	Average 12 to 13 hours per day and 10 on Sundays	Week	
	Omnibus and tram drivers and conductors	72	And upwards	Week	Some work 15 hours and 9 hours on alternate days
	Cabmen	82—88	13 or 14 hours a day usual	By the job	
	Carmen	90	And upwards	Week	Average probably 96—100. Overtime sometimes allowed for extra loads
	Mail cart drivers	(average) 90—100	.....	Week	
	Goods' guards	77	11 hours per day	Week	
	Railway carmen	(average) 84	About 14 hours per day	Week	

Trades working 72 hours and upwards per week (continued) :—

Trade Group.	Occupation.	Recognized Hours.	Remarks.	Method of Remuneration.	Overtime, &c.
LOCOMOTION—continued. Vol. III., pp. 356, 359, 374, 379.	Signalmen	56—84	8—12 hours per day	Week	Much overtime in foggy weather
	Railway porters	84	Week of 7 days of 12 hours	Week (some gratuities)	
	Shunters.....	56—84	8—12 hours per day	Week	Increased to 90 or 100 hours when on night-work Overtime at time and a half after 14 hours
	Lightermen ...	72	Full week	Day	
	Watermen	72	12 hour day	By the job	
LABOUR. Vol. III., p. 441.	Coal carmen ...	73	Including meals. Start 6 a.m.	Piece	
DOMESTIC SERVICE. Vol. IV., pp. 233, 237, 238.	Waiters	72—84	The longer hours are worked by foreigners	Week (and gratuities)	
	Barmaids	(about 80)	Start 7 a.m.	Week	
	Bath attendants	72—90	For men	Week (some gratuities)	

Note.—The above tables show in a general way the hours prevailing or recognized as normal in the various occupations mentioned. Here and there the outside ranges have been indicated, while in other cases averages or hours usually worked have been given. It will be necessary in all cases where greater accuracy is required to refer back to the descriptions given in former volumes of the industries themselves and their various branches.

For instance, tankmakers, who figure among those trades "working over forty-eight but under fifty-four hours," are so placed because their recognized full week is one of fifty-four hours; while in point of fact they rarely work over forty hours. In the same way the normal week of glass-makers, metallic-cask makers, hatters, silversmiths, sail-makers, &c., is one of shorter duration than their nominal full week; while that of bakers, drapers, &c., is normally one of greater length than that indicated in the table.

Where a trade has more than one branch, and where these branches work different hours and are sufficiently distinct to be treated as different occupations, they are scheduled separately. Thus, coopers will be found under the sub-heads of dock coopers, brewers' coopers and white coopers; in the same way, builders' smiths are distinguished from engineers' smiths.

Except where special mention is made to the contrary, meal times have been deducted in stating the "recognized" hours. For some occupations, such as drovers, slaughter-men, private coachmen, waterworks' turn-cocks, law-writers, theatrical property-men, &c., the hours of work are so indefinite that it has been found impossible to give even an "average" figure for them, and they have therefore been omitted from the tables.

CHAPTER VIII.

METHODS OF REMUNERATION: TIME AND PIECE-WORK.

THE method of remuneration adopted in any particular trade is connected with far-reaching industrial relationships, ranging from a chance connection with a stranger taken on for an odd hour to perform some casual task, to the fullest application of the principle of industrial co-partnership. These two extremes illustrate the maximum and minimum of interest in the service rendered or the work done; between them we have every form of tie—the permanent man on a weekly wage, the piece-worker, the combination of a task-performance with a time-wage, or, it may be, the arrangement by which a small group of men, practising co-operation in its most elementary form, share among themselves the money earned.

Sometimes the method of remuneration adopted in a trade has been introduced on the initiative of those employed, but employers too are seeking constantly for the plan that will secure them the best service. Their methods vary largely. Some believe that constant superintendence is essential for labour of every kind, while others strive to dispense with overlooking, and endeavour to secure a response by other means: some employers try to touch men's hearts, others their fears; some look far ahead and, with abundant care, endeavour to train up and secure the services of a body of men who may become their trusted helpers, while others are content to meet the business necessity of the moment, and, guided mainly by the supply that offers of the particular labour they require, think little or nothing of people, but everything of results. In such cases the business relationship is apt to be unre-

lieved; and service can scarcely be touched by any kindly feeling.

We find a corresponding variation in the attitude of those who are employed. The work done for a wage may be regarded simply as a task, or it may become a genuine part of life. It may be accompanied by a real interest in a corporate success, or it may be regarded simply as a minimum that has to be accomplished in order that employment may be retained.

In spite of everything that may operate to the contrary, the basis of industrial relationship, in the majority of cases, is personal, deriving its strength very largely from its moral character irrespective of the particular form in which it is manifested, which, in itself, may or may not be good. Loyalty and mutual consideration will be found in the sweater's den, while disaffection may creep into even a co-operative undertaking, and the sharing of profits is no guarantee against misunderstanding. At the same time any form to be satisfactory must rest upon a sound economic basis, and must, sooner or later, stand condemned, if not compatible with the intelligent use of capital and the efficient direction of labour. "Better" relationships can in no way avoid the penalty that a weaker economic position will ultimately involve: the friction and probable failure that will follow.

The most important varieties in the methods of remuneration adopted are payment by piece and by time, and to these we now turn.

Their practical importance is dependent in the first place on the elasticity of the springs of action of the individual worker. It may be argued, indeed, that the adoption of a time-rate or a piece-rate system of payment should make no difference in the amount of work executed, provided that the conditions of employment are felt to be reasonable, and the moral standard of the operative is

sufficiently high. But it is found that the impulse to effort is almost inevitably affected by the method of remuneration under which men work.

At present the trend of the opinion of wage-earners in many trades is against piece-work, and when corporate action has been taken it has been generally in favour of the adoption of time-rates of pay. The historic struggles of the engineers, and of many branches of the building trades, have been in favour of this change, and the prominence given to the claims of time-work in labour disputes which have turned on changes in system of payment has somewhat misguided public opinion in regard to this question, and led to the assumption that time-work is more largely prevalent, in trades in which some other system might be accepted, than is really the case. As regards London especially, this misapprehension is perhaps more than usually widespread, owing to the extent to which payment by piece has been abolished in the building trades.*

The facts, so far as they have been obtained, are embodied in the table on pages 201-214.

With a large number of occupations there is no room for choice. Their special conditions practically necessitate the adoption of one system or the other. Thus home-work, executed away from the superintendence of the employer, and often taken up by women in time spared from other duties, is necessarily piece-work. On the other hand, many services must be paid by time, because the results cannot be separately estimated; those, for instance, connected with all forms of locomotion, and with most branches of retail distribution. In transport and general labour nearly all are paid by time, and in several groups in the building trade, payment cannot well be made on any other system. But where either system is available, as with the various

* The piece-work that exists in the building trades is merely sub-contract. The "piece-master" pays his men by the hour.

branches of manufacture, it is found, so far as our figures go, that the number of piece-workers among men considerably exceeds that of time-workers, and that among women, similarly engaged, piece-work is almost universal. Speaking generally, the only large classes of women employed as manual workers, who are exclusively paid by time, are charwomen, washerwomen and domestic servants.

It may be claimed that the principle of giving a bonus, which may be introduced into almost any business, is a form of payment by results which is the essence of piece-work. But it would be straining the application of the term to describe the sharing of the profits that result from the general working of a business, or even of a department in a business, in the same manner as remuneration that is in immediate relation to the results of the labour of an individual. The analogy between profit-sharing in all its forms and piece-work may easily be pushed too far, and their mistaken identification has already blocked the way to the adoption of valuable experiments in industrial reform.

Although the two systems of payment are marked by many characteristic differences, in practice the results tend constantly to approach each other. The time-rate is always based upon what an average man may be expected to perform, and the piece-rate upon that which an average day's work may be expected to secure. It is largely because of this that the distinction is more apparent than real. There is a constant tendency to estimate remuneration in the double terms of time and output, and when a scale of piece-work rates is drawn up, or when a time-rate is fixed, the double method of calculation has necessarily to be used.

It is a mistake, therefore, to regard the two systems as though they are entirely antithetical and based on fundamentally different estimates. It is found rather that every readjustment of wages illustrates their similarities, and that

the natural working of competition tends, as does trade union policy, towards procuring approximate uniformity of remuneration, whatever the system adopted may be. In practice, both systems and every combination of them are found.

The more exactly its results can be estimated, the more is labour adapted to piece-work. This fact explains the unsuitability for payment by piece of new kinds of work, especially that done on original or elaborate designs, or such as requires great skill or care, or in which defects can be easily concealed.

That a time system should be commonly adopted for new tasks is evidently reasonable. Even the most capable employer cannot always estimate with any degree of accuracy the number of hours which some fresh piece of work will require, and either a very trustworthy man has then to be employed, or a time-rate of payment be combined with more careful supervision. By this means a basis of measurement is obtained, and the same task, if repeated, can afterwards be included in the schedule of piece-work prices. Thus, among surgical instrument makers we find that time-work is the rule in shops where the first examples of new designs are made, whereas among the chamber masters, who generally execute orders for the reproduction of known patterns, the piece-work system prevails. So also glass-bevellers are divided into two classes, those "following curves and elaborate shapes in their bevelling" being on time-work, while the others, engaged on plain edges, are paid by the piece. Analogous differences are found among cabinet-makers according to the character of the shop; and, in other trades where the time system is more universal, it is on the straight-forward work, especially when executed in large quantities, that the piece system tends to be more constantly revived; among bricklayers, for instance, on straight runs

of brick-work, among house carpenters in the laying of floors, or among joiners in making window frames to some uniform pattern.

The use of machinery has often paved the way for the substitution of time-work for piece-work. The subordination of the man to the machine is a favourite theme with many writers, though there are few occupations in which individual care does not have a considerable effect on the output, no matter how perfect the mechanism may be. But the demands of the machine differ, and when the function of the man is either to watch self-acting mechanical processes, or to superintend the feeding of a machine that itself determines the pace of the human movement, there is a tendency for piece-work to be eliminated as being either impossible or unsuitable to the new conditions. Instances are seen in the trade of paper-stainers, among whom, while the hand-workers are usually paid by the piece, the machine-workers are invariably on a time rate; or in that of cork-workers, where the introduction of machinery has been usually followed by time payment.

This is not, it is true, a universal movement, and in some trades the possibility of intensifying the labour of the operative through the medium of the machine has led to the rigid insistence by organized workmen upon the maintenance of piece-work rates. Professor Marshall's statement that "When appliances are used equality of remuneration will require equality of appliance," reminds us that great unfairness might result under apparent similarity of conditions. It is in the difficulty of regulating the introduction of changes in machinery that make labour more arduous, that the main explanation is found of the maintenance, in spite of its great complexity, of the elaborate piece-work schedules of the cotton trade. When machinery can be thus altered, it is obvious that a more satisfactory relation between output and effort

and wages can be maintained by piece rates than by time rates, since the latter could not readily be adjusted to the increasing intensity of the labour.

In considering the arguments for and against piece-work and for and against time-work, the point of view here adopted will be that of the general observer rather than that of employer or employed. Opinion on this subject does not strictly follow class divisions. Many wage-earners prefer piece-work, and most do so where it is really suitable, while employers prefer time-work for many purposes. The advantages and defects of both systems are often recognized no less clearly on the one side than on the other.

Effort is likely to be more persistent, and earnings are usually higher, under a piece-work than under a time-work system, but this does not in itself prove the superiority of the former method, either for the employer or the employed, for many considerations are involved besides the amount of work done or the money earned in a given time. As the danger of "shirking," for instance, is lessened, that of "scamping" might increase, or health might fail if the pressure were too severe. Thus it is that very varying opinions are expressed both by masters and men on the merits of the rival systems.

In favour of piece-work it is said that it requires less supervision; that by its adoption management is made easier, simpler, and less costly. The operative knows that he will be paid strictly according to performance, and that if he works either for short days or with little energy he will suffer accordingly. It is argued, therefore, that superintendence not only becomes more economical, but also less detective in its character.

On the other hand, it is said that in many occupations this argument is entirely fallacious, since the very fact that the more work done the higher the earnings will be,

is a direct temptation to the concealment of inferior work. Men will be induced to send in hurried work, perfecting it only up to the point that will pass muster; and interest and pride in their craft will inevitably be lost in the thought of the weekly wages-sheet. It is further urged that, in certain trades, management, though simplified, will at the same time be deteriorated, the piece-work system giving a chance to the master who, though he may have business capacity, yet is without that practical knowledge of the trade which is requisite for an appreciative and intelligent employer. Masters who have not the technical knowledge that would enable them to estimate the time that work should occupy are, it is said, apt to fall back upon the more automatic test of piece-work. Superintendence thus becomes less sympathetic, and the craft itself is likely to be degraded.

Again, it is urged that only under a system of piece-work can the best energies of a man be called forth; that this method of payment is even necessary, as one employer has expressed it, in order to "tap the reserve of force in a man," and most men would agree that more work is "naturally" done and more money made in an hour on piece than on time-work.

In reply, it is said that the temptation to excessive effort is apt to be too great, and that a system which aims at continually calling forth the last possibilities of effort of which a man is capable, is not only damaging to his health, but in the end economically disastrous; and piece-work is condemned by those who hold this view, although it may be freely accepted, and even preferred by both masters and men. The objection to it is analogous to that which many have to systematic overtime: a too intense application is felt to be as harmful as one that is too prolonged.

It is urged, on the other hand, that if men can and will work with such vigour and persistency, who shall forbid them? This freedom alone, it is said, can secure a due

reward to the man of more than average strength or powers of application, or, it may be, of more than average skill.

But the argument is again answered: Such freedom, if freedom it really be, is a prostitution of this noble attribute of life. It is not a genuine impulse that inspires men, but the "greed of gain." Or if justice be appealed to, this justice, it is said, turns out to be a form of selfishness, for if men took thought for their fellows, they would not be eager for more work than "fairness" would allow them to claim. This argument may not be very strong economically, but it is further pointed out that equality of remuneration does not necessarily follow when payment is made by time. Advantages in all work, such as securing the most desirable tasks, can and will be obtained by the more competent men; besides which a time-rate, since it fixes a minimum and not a maximum, and since in most trades there are branches for which special rates are paid, frequently leaves a considerable scope for variation in the actual wages earned. Further, it is pointed out that the most competent and trustworthy man, even if only able to earn the same rates as those who are less competent and less trustworthy, yet secures his advantage from greater regularity of employment.

These arguments, for and against, leave the question very much a matter of application. Each system is good in its place. The dangers, on this side or that, have to be met by suitable modifications.

Some other questions of a more general character must be considered.

As regards the effect of piece-work on regularity of employment there are conflicting opinions. On the one hand, it is held that the piece-worker has a better chance than the time-worker of securing employment through the year, and there are many figures that bear out this contention. Earnings may show a greater fluctuation, but

as a rule it is easier to get something to do during slack times in a piece-work trade than in one in which time-work prevails. Our returns of the iron and steel trades illustrate this point, for while the time-workers dropped 39 per cent. in number in the slack week, the piece-workers even showed a slight increase, indicating some degree of interchangeability between the two classes, but still illustrating the tendency of piece-work to secure a more general division of the work during slackness.

On the other hand, it is stated that in all trades in which the piece system is the rule, there is a direct temptation to men to be irregular in their habits, "to come when they like and go when they like," and it is urged that the dangerous facilities thus offered for working irregular hours within the week more than counterbalance any advantage there may be in securing some modicum of employment in dull times. It is admitted that this voluntary irregularity can be, and often is, counteracted to some extent by the efficient control of the employer, for it is erroneous to suppose that because men are working by the piece their employer is therefore indifferent to their habits as regards hours of labour. If they are using plant, or even only room, their absence means the direct waste of capital invested, and if they are out-workers, using neither the plant nor the premises of their employer, the irregularity will still give trouble and cause uncertainty. It is the constant aim, therefore, of the employer of piece-workers to secure as great a regularity as is practicable.

Another question involved is the effect of piece-work on the chances of employment of those below and beyond the age of maximum strength and efficiency. It is urged that employers, when engaging men by time, will be more strict in the test of efficiency they impose. Especially will this be so in all trades in which high rates prevail, since employers cannot then afford to employ any men who are not fully competent, and, if such have been engaged,

the first spell of slackness will be used as an occasion for their prompt dismissal. Under these circumstances, it is the youngest and the oldest who are apt to suffer. It is claimed also, that individuals with very different abilities can more readily adapt themselves to the conditions of piece-work. But then again it is held that piece-work, facilitating, as it does, the sub-division of labour, and the despecialization of skill, often provides even too great a facility for the employment of the young; and as regards the older man it is said that the physical effects of piece-work tend to be so injurious that the chances of his securing employment late in life are in practice diminished by his earlier physical decline.

Finally, an argument must be noted concerning the effects of the system of payment adopted on the uniformity and fixity of the *rate* of remuneration. As a general rule the method most compatible with these objects will be preferred by the wage-earner. This preference may be illustrated by the case of the more highly skilled cabinet-makers, whose constant endeavour in the best workshops of their trade is to maintain a time-rate of wages. Their contention is that any schedule of piece-work prices under modern conditions, because of its unworkable complexity, leads constantly to uncertainty and friction, and that payment by time leaves less scope for either the secret or the open "pitting" of one worker against another.

This danger may be to some extent counteracted in individual workshops by the instrumentality of the "shop committee," but, in trades in which there is no effective organization to maintain and revise the schedule of piece-work prices as required, it is felt that the "cutting down" of wages is more difficult to restrain than under a time-rate method of payment. The bargain as to the price at which work shall be executed is, in the same way, more liable to abuse by the employer, and more likely to place the operative at a disadvantage than an agreement for a

certain rate of pay per hour or per day, because on the latter plan there are fewer and less recurring elements of possible variation. Against this, however, we must set the widespread opinion among employers in some trades that the time system is more liable to abuse on the part of the workmen.

We thus search in vain for a final and conclusive judgment that in all cases, either on social or on economic grounds, this or that practice is the best.

No general rule can be laid down, for the appropriateness of the method of payment will always be mainly determined by the special circumstances and traditions of the different trades. There is no uniformity either of practice or of policy. While the plasterer, the engineer, and the mason, make the abolition of piece-work a firm plank in their trade-union platform, the tank-maker and the basket-maker uphold it, because with them it leads to the greatest independence and most agreeable conditions; in the glass industry the maintenance of a piece-work scale is the main reason for the existence of the trade union; while among brass and bronze finishers, although there is no uniform scale, and although much waste of time and much annoyance are caused in fixing new prices, the piece-work system is still preferred.

It should be noted here, perhaps, that in some trades in which corporate opinion seems well defined, and in which piece-work is discountenanced, it is still sometimes adopted and concealed, and that the temptation to this practice must increase when the time-rate is low and the working day short.

Such evasions, perhaps no less than the diversity of the method of payment adopted, show the difficulty of securing uniformity. But light is afforded as to what is desirable by the attempt to combine the two methods in trades to which both are applicable. When this is done, though the remuneration may be based on a time-rate, some greater

elasticity of earnings would be made probable, by the recognition of piece-work possibilities up to the level which is accepted, by employers and employed alike, as compatible with the maintenance of personal efficiency and of good work. In not a few trades such a compromise as this has led to a successful avoidance both of excessive slackness and of excessive effort.

It may perhaps be thought that this question of the method of payment has been considered on a too general assumption that purely personal considerations will necessarily guide conduct if the opportunity be given. Ordinary employers, however, and ordinary working men, are neither idealists nor knaves,

“ . . neither children nor gods, but men in a world of men,”

and the discussion must be conducted on the frank assumption that the best relationship will be that which will be most effective industrially, as tending to secure the greatest possible permanent advantage for all concerned. In the search for conditions that would tend to combine individual well-being with industrial efficiency human nature has to be rather rudely analyzed. We are for ever perplexed, moreover, by the multiplicity of motives that actuate the individual, and by the ways in which higher and lower aims are intermingled according to the strength and the weakness of personal character.

CHAPTER IX.

IRREGULARITY OF EARNINGS.

A COMPLETE explanation of the standard of material well-being maintained by any individual family would involve a consideration of many fundamental points. Such questions, for instance, as the influence of the family tradition; the character and habits of the particular household; and the capacity of the wife, would be of the first importance. But even when we put such points on one side, and assume roughly that the man who is able to earn 40s in a working week is "better off" than one who can earn only 28s, we are at once met by the problem of irregular employment, for it is fairly certain that the standard of comfort is fixed rather by the regularity than by the rate of pay.

A workman who earned 25s a week throughout the year would almost certainly live in far greater comfort than one who earned 50s in twenty-six weeks taken here and there throughout the twelve months, even though both were steady men, and though the latter might reasonably reckon on obtaining twenty-six weeks of employment out of the fifty-two at the higher rate.

The preceding volumes have contained constant references to the influences that make for irregularity, and an endeavour must now be made to classify and analyze them.

The question of irregular earnings derives its chief importance from its practical bearing on the position of wage-earners; in many aspects, therefore, it may be best considered with special reference to this class. But the subject has a wider aspect, for many of the causes of irregular employment are quite general in their effects,

influencing the position, not of wage-earners alone, but of everyone concerned with the trades affected.

The special problem of irregular employment largely resolves itself, in short, into the more general one of a fluctuating and uncertain demand for commodities and services. The cause that brings difficulty and distress to the workman may involve the employer himself in bankruptcy and loss of his position, though the effects of irregular demand on the individual wage-earner are quicker, and perhaps more obvious. The employer has more staying-power, and his transitions to the ranks of the workless are neither so sudden nor so frequent as those of the wage-earner; but, on the other hand, the workman is strengthened by greater freedom of movement and less responsibility. In spite, however, of differences in economic status, many of the disturbing causes tend to affect both classes alike, though often in different degrees and under different guises.

We must, therefore, recognize how largely unity of interest and subjection to the same influences prevail among all classes that are industrially associated; and how incomplete is the view that results from a too exclusive consideration of the position of the wage-earner in relation to this question. We find further evidence of this in the fact that industrial London is to a large extent composed of those who have returned themselves as "neither employer nor employed." The real position of many of these is doubtless not dissimilar to that of those who have returned themselves as "employed." But they often rely for their employment, such as it is, on chance members of the community with whom not even the semblance of a persistent relationship is maintained. The essence of their industrial position lies rather in their *direct* dependence upon a problematical demand for the commodities or services they offer, a demand which comes partly from that portion of the community with which

they have succeeded in establishing some kind of "connection," and partly from a wider and more uncertain range. Among booksellers, grocers, coal and corn dealers and general shopkeepers the proportion returned as "neither employer nor employed" varies from $15\frac{1}{2}$ to $45\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total numbers, and rises among costers to $70\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Even in the case of plasterers and paper-hangers, musical instrument and toy-makers, and saddlers, there are 9 per cent. in the neutral class; among locksmiths and gas-fitters, and cabinet-makers, there are 10 per cent.; while makers of trimmings, &c., show $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; boot-makers, $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (equal to nearly 25 per cent. of employed males over twenty); shirt-makers, $19\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and watch and clock-makers, $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or in this case nearly 45 per cent. of the total of employed males over twenty years of age.

In the organized and unorganized sections enumerated on pp. 144-145, we find that about 60,000 males (including 6692 costers) have returned themselves as neither employing nor employed; while among milliners, dress-makers and shirt-makers nearly 22,000 women are included in the same category. It is clear, therefore, that a not inconsiderable proportion of London workers are not "employed" in the ordinary sense of the word, and that the problem of irregular earnings is for such persons independent of a connection with an individual employer.

The figures serve also to suggest the dependence of all upon influences that are wider than those determined by a personal connection. The close relationship of employer and employed, though often prominent as a proximate cause of intermittent employment, probably ranks among the minor influences. The employer is often rather the lever by which the individual is put in or out of gear with the industrial machinery of life, in which at times he can, perhaps, fill no part, than the real cause of displacement. Even as regards wage-earners, therefore,

we shall constantly have to pass beyond the consideration of causes affected by the customary class-relationship, to others more fundamental and far-reaching.

Industry strains blindly for an equilibrium that is never maintained. In the whole range of London trades there is hardly an instance in which demand is uniform, supply certain, and personal efficiency equal. Changing relations of supply to demand, inequality of powers, variety in the strength of the actuating motives, are seen on every hand; and anything like general security of industrial tenure is entirely absent. One of the most stupendous facts of life is the uncertainty of the position of the vast majority of those, no matter what their status may be, who are dependent upon industry for their livelihood. For a short period the future may be clear to the majority perhaps in every occupation, but for a more distant time they trust, like Mr. Micawber, that something will turn up. Men work on, reposing a half-recognized faith, based on a half-interpreted experience, in the potential demand that is around them. Happily, as a rule, their faith is justified; for there is a general persistency of opportunity, although particular trades disappear, and the occupation of whole classes of workers may be swept away.

For the individual, however, and especially for the wage-earner, the fact remains that there is rarely certainty or safety. He lives shadowed by the consciousness of an uncertain tenure, and there are few whose hearts would not be comforted if the faith upon which their industrial life rests could be based on a fuller knowledge. To this uncertainty is due much to the stimulus and excitement of industrial life, but much also of its disheartening pressure.

To quote from our evidence of an operative brushmaker, "The great curse of a journeyman's life is irregularity of employment. When I thought it likely that I should be thrown out of employment it seemed to paralyze me completely, and I used to sit at home brooding over it

until the blow fell. . . . The fear of being turned off is the worst thing in a working-man's life, and more or less acutely it is almost always, in the case of the vast majority, present to his mind."

It is to be noted that the term *irregular* employment, if strictly used in relation to the normal working day, does not exclude continuous employment accompanied by temporary or prolonged periods of pressure or overtime. Irregularity in this sense includes all variations from the normal day, be the variation a *plus* or *minus* quantity; whether leading, that is, to industrial slavery or to the formation of an unemployed class. How far regular employment is economically desirable, is, therefore, a question of degree, and different men will have different ideas on this point. Outside judgment too will vary to some extent with the character of employments. The standard as to what is considered socially and even in some cases economically desirable in the extent, intensity, or continuity of labour, changes, and the tide has in recent years set strongly in favour of a more leisured, although not less efficient, industrial life, with a shorter working day and longer holidays. Regularity must not, therefore, be regarded as an end in itself: work, however regular, if unduly prolonged may be more deleterious than that which is too intermittent, and beneficial regularity may be defined as that which combines social well-being with economic efficiency.

We must also distinguish between various kinds of periodical irregularity. There is, for instance, the weekly irregularity of some trades in which not only do wage-earners habitually keep "Saint Monday," but in which the length of the working day increases systematically and harmfully from Tuesday to Friday; then again there are the yearly fluctuations in seasonal trades; while cyclical variations spread over long periods are characteristic of many occupations, seasonal and otherwise. The disturb-

ing influences at work are mainly connected with one or another of these three phases of recurrent irregularity—the short, the seasonal, and that which comes in cycles.*

In considering the influences which determine the tenure of individual employment and the continuity in the demand for labour in a particular trade, we are met by the fact that, while men are frequently unable to secure regular work, they often do not desire it. We are thus carried at once to the distinction between Personal and Economic causes of irregular employment.

In actual life a constant intermixture of these two main groups of causes is found at work. One set of influences alone rarely determines the amount of employment that a man is able to secure. Moreover the comparative strength with which the two sets of causes bear upon the individual varies at different times. Incompetency and unreliability, for instance, become less effective as disqualifications for service with increasing intensity of demand.

Many personal causes of economic weakness induce, not irregularity of employment, but rather a permanent disqualification for this or that particular occupation. Thus, muscular weakness is incompatible with navvies' work, defective eyesight with that of the engine-driver, and clumsiness with that of the scientific instrument maker. In declining health or advancing years, however, such physical causes may increase the insecurity of tenure at different periods of the individual life, and, when once an old place has been lost, become a powerful cause of subsequent irregularity.

* Seasonal and cyclical variations, as measured by actual unemployment, are well illustrated by the tables and charts compiled from the trade union and employers' returns to the Board of Trade. *Vide* Annual Reports of the Labour Department; and in the evidence given by Mr. H. Llewellyn Smith (Commissioner of Labour) before the Parliamentary Committee on Distress from Want of Employment (Third Report, 1895).

Intellectual qualifications in the same way have a permanent and persistent effect upon occupation followed, roughly determining the status of the individual. The illiterate man, no matter how steady he may be, does not become a mechanical engineer, nor, under normal conditions, does the clever artisan sweep our roads. But the intelligence of members of the same trade varies, and this variation constitutes, when demand is weak, a fairly well defined cause of irregularity, affecting in the first place those whose intelligence, although perhaps equal to the rough general standard ordinarily demanded in the trade, is below the average. Here also we notice a constant intermixture in their effects of the personal and impersonal causes.

In moral qualities we find a cause of irregular employment both more variable and more independent in its action. Physique and intelligence determine roughly the industrial position of the individual and leave him there. But it is more frequently otherwise as regards moral standard. In this there lies a greater likelihood of changes during the normal working years of a man's life, whether of deterioration or improvement. In this is probably found the justification of the very general opinion that moral weakness in one form or another is the prolific, if not the main, source of irregularity of employment. And undoubtedly intemperance, dishonesty, laziness, negligence, carelessness, unpunctuality, disobedience or a quarrelsome habit—all the qualities in fact that combine to make up either an untrustworthy man, a *mauvais sujet*, or a nuisance—are constant sources of economic weakness.

The causes that have been so far mentioned have been regarded as acting independently of the direct initiative of the individual. Responsibility may rest with him, but the actual displacement, it has been assumed, takes place through the employer, the workman receiving, not giving, notice.

But much irregular employment is due to the direct initiative of the wage-earner himself. The cases in which customary habits lead to regular irregularity week by week have been already noticed, and there are other instances in which discontinuity of work within short recurring periods is largely due to the influence of the occupation itself, as may be illustrated by contrasting the work of the coal-porter with that of the joiner.

The power to earn high wages, whether attained by effective organization, or by the possession of exceptional skill or strength, not infrequently becomes a direct cause of irregular work. Thus of the portmanteau and leather case makers an employer enunciates the hard saying that "the best workmen are all drunkards"; among the small but highly organized body of saddle tree-makers it is "not a very uncommon thing for men to remain 'on the booze' for weeks together." The metallic cask-makers used to earn such good wages that they were often unwilling to come in during the first part of the week, and the increasing use of machinery in their trade has been traced to this practice; among the bamboo and cane-makers an employer reports that "Englishmen work the best and earn the most, but drink the most. Foreigners when 'green' are sober." Electrical workers, we hear, "though earning good wages, do not save; their work is irregular and so are their habits"; among silversmiths many of the best piece-workers, still earning 40s per week or more, "make their Sunday last three days"; and of the pianoforte makers some of the quickest and smartest workmen are found in shops where work is most irregular and where there is most drinking. "These men," it is said, "do not want work every week in the year; hard work and large earnings succeeded by idleness and hard drinking make exactly the life that suits them." So, too, "coalies" will earn as much as 20s or more by a single prolonged spell of work, and spend it all before beginning again.

These instances are drawn from particular trades, but examples of the same characteristics, with more or less admixture of the laxity of the easy-going or the selfishness of the positively vicious, are to be found scattered over almost every field of employment. In addition, with irregularity based on their own weak wills or ingrained habits, we have the lower class of the casual labourer and street loafer—those shiftless denizens of every great city—making up a large body of individuals to whom irregularity is freedom and who find some compensation for the precariousness of their existence in the spurious independence their mode of life secures.

Among some female workers similar traits of irregularity are to be noticed. Thus, among the fancy-box makers one employer, remarking on differences of character amongst the girls in his service, and the prevalence of the habit among some of them of going out “for a spree” of two or three days and then coming back to “work like niggers,” mentions especially that some of his best workers do this; and Miss Collet draws attention to the same fact in the chapter on Women’s Work in Vol. IV. of our first series. After referring to the voluntary absence of some 60 per cent. of the girls of the Victoria Match Factory for periods of from half a day to two days per week, Miss Collet continues: “this irregularity of attendance is found in all factories among what might be called the 8s to 10s girls. These wages give these girls as much as they care to work for, and after that they like holidays best.”*

Change from one employer to another is not, however, necessarily a sign of economic weakness. It is often deliberately incurred from entirely reasonable motives. In many trades in which discontinuity is normal, the moment of enforced movement is sometimes forestalled, those who foresee the impending cessation of employment, shifting

* Vol. IV., p. 323 (First Series).

voluntarily, thereby increasing, instead of diminishing, the degree of regularity of employment they can secure.

Occasionally men change their place of work from a personal preference for some particular foreman, employer or shop mates, even in the absence of any direct material advantage, as in wages. At other times there is a bolder change, and, especially in the earlier years of the working life, the recognition of the value of a wider experience becomes a powerful motive to discontinuity. The restlessness that leads men to move doubtless shades down by imperceptible degrees, from the execution of the well-considered plan by which trade knowledge may be perfected, to pure shiftlessness.* It must be recognized, therefore, that moving from employer to employer, or from place to place, does not always indicate weakness or insecurity of position. It may be, rather, a sign of economic strength; of a more than average intelligence and independence, tending to make the industrial footing surer and so to increase the chances of regular employment in later years.

The intermixture of personal and economic considerations are best illustrated by the motives actuating employers when trade is slack.

In every occupation there are some employees whose industrial tenure is less secure than that of others. They are, it may be, less capable, less trustworthy, or less easy to get on with, and when any are dismissed these men go first. Their elimination is less certain and less sudden in some trades than in others, according to the character of the work, to the nature and extent of the plant used, to the method of remuneration, or to other causes. But even in circumstances that facilitate continuous work employers rather welcome the opportunity that offers for

* In the puzzling English language, I would beg any foreign reader to observe, "A shifty man in pure shiftlessness may shift," and still leave the overworked word "shift" with two distinct meanings.

weeding out those whose services are unsatisfactory. These are the Jonahs, without power of prophecy or even of foresight, who are thrown overboard.

Thus, of pianoforte workers, an employer reports that the slack time is "the opportunity for weeding out the black sheep; any men inclined to unsteadiness or idleness, drunkenness or sedition are then generally got rid of." Of the shipwrights we read, "the second-rate men are the casuals, taken on when wanted;" of French polishers, "the best hands have as usual the most regular work; the irregularity falls to the lot of the extra men employed at busy times, when double the regular working staff is not infrequently needed." Of cabinet makers an employer says, "When work is slack the worst men are discharged;" but, he adds, that he has four men "whom he would not discharge even if trade were very bad. He would make stock to keep them going." Of bookbinders a journeyman says, "the employers will keep on the regular staff, discharging those who were taken on during the busy time. . . . These would be the first discharged. The same men are always signing the book"—that is, the out-of-work book of the trade society. Of the machine watchmakers an employer states that they try as far as possible to let their good hands have regular work, "and do not attempt to keep on their less good men by lowering the hours of work all round, though this plan has to be adopted when trade is extremely slack;" and among the barge-builders, who are paid on a time-rate of 7s 6d a day, it is the young and old who are the first to suffer in slack times.

Displacement is so frequently due to the conjunction of some form of personal disqualification and the pressure of disadvantageous economic conditions, that it may perhaps be assumed that only in the minority of cases is one set of influences alone sufficient to determine the question of employment for any individual man. We must

not, however, be led on to the acceptance of what may seem to be the comforting corollary (solacing thought to many a respectable citizen), that "a steady man who knows his trade can always secure employment," for that is not always so ; but it is certainly the exception to find men of this stamp so placed that the uncertainty of their position becomes for them a source of serious difficulty. They form rather the well-lubricated working-class members of society, moving without much loss of energy, and slipping readily into the places which they are able to fill. It is the less steady and the less efficient who feel the friction, and creak as they move. But, as a corrective of complacency, the following pertinent instance from the notes of our evidence may perhaps be cited. An East London sugar refiner, who had for some time previously to the time of our interview been obliged gradually to discharge his staff, reported that one of the men had called regularly at the works every morning for three months in the hope of being re-engaged. "At the end of that time he disappeared, and on inquiry it was found that he had been sent to gaol for housebreaking. He had always been a sober, steady, and contented worker, and bore an excellent character."

Personal causes of irregular employment are closely connected with the extent to which the elements of industrial efficiency are demanded. We have seen that what constitutes personal economic efficiency varies greatly in character, and that moral considerations are among those that enter in very varying degrees. In many occupations these can hardly be said to have great importance, since certificates of character are neither asked for nor offered. When the requisite technical efficiency alone is needed, there is, from the industrial point of view, no great difference between individuals whose character, if a more personal and more moral relationship had to be established, would be found to differ widely. It is only when there is scope for their display and use that moral

characteristics come to have direct market value. But it is important to note that in many unexpected ways they act as retaining qualities, strengthening the position of the individual, and securing to him more permanently the particular berth he fills.

It is the conventional belief that modern employment rests almost exclusively upon a "cash nexus," but the bond is often much more personal and complex. Even in the building trade, in which the most impersonal relationship between employer and employed is illustrated, we find the foreman with his list of known men; the joiners' shop and the masons' yard each with its nucleus of a permanent staff; and the jobbing builder with his carefully selected employees.

Industrial relationships constantly tend to reflect the necessity of accord between those who are brought into contact with one another, so that idiosyncrasies are not overlooked, for Dick is as a rule not quite the same as Tom, and Harry is rarely the equivalent of either, and each foreman will have his particular preferences.

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of this constant undercurrent of personal causation as affecting employment, tracing its origin as it does in so many of its aspects to the strength or weakness of individual character.

Generally, one may say that the test of a workman's character lies in his power to establish reputable claims, other than those of technical efficiency, upon the consideration of employers; and that of an employer upon his ability to appreciate the validity of such claims.

Turning to the consideration of the more strictly economic causes of irregular employment, we may first notice those that are accompanied by price movements, and may to some extent even be identified with them. By some, these movements are regarded as the most prolific

sources of industrial dislocation of every kind, and currency questions in this relation have become the battle-field alike of politics and of economic theory. So disturbing has the subject become, that "currency," it has been said, not money, should now rank with wine and women as one of the three great causes of madness in men, and we are therefore fortunate in being able to regard this controversial question as beyond the scope of our inquiry. For in this case, as in some others yet to be mentioned, we find no special connection with the conditions of employment in London.*

Moreover, whatever may be the influence exerted upon the conditions of industrial life by the machinery of exchange, it is to be noted that the active processes of trade are for the most part carried on by business men, in a state of mental indifference as to the basis on which the national or international system of currency rests. Or, if taken into account at all, questions of this kind are classed with other vague and subtle influences, which, though recognized as possibly affecting the conditions of the particular market under observation, are nevertheless in most cases felt to be beyond the range of practical calculation.

All classes depend upon the strength of the economic motives of enterprise. If these flag, the whole population suffers, and in them imagination plays a great part. Although concrete facts, in the long run, exercise a controlling influence, a movement in trade is primarily a movement of many minds. Anticipations are hopeful or hopeless, buoyant or depressed, and the effects are seen in brisk or slack employment. Thus, the state of the labour market is largely determined by the ways in which many people are "making up their minds."

Just as the Socialist is apt to over-estimate the permanency of the material forms of wealth existing at any

* This was written at the height of the bi-metallic controversy.

given time, and to ignore their vital sources, so too much importance is commonly given to the mechanical influence of concrete facts on questions of price and value, and too little to the results of imagination playing on these facts, and to the freedom with which, according to its interpretation of the circumstances of the moment, each individual acts.

This is hardly less true on the side of consumption than on that of production, for the proportion of the general demand that is determined by sheer necessity has been greatly diminished in modern times. The aggregate demand is becoming more many-sided and more optional, and, therefore, more variable and more elastic. Confidence has thus an increasing power to beget a freer expenditure, and this expenditure justifies, and in its turn reacts upon, the hopeful anticipations which have stimulated production. In the absence of confidence, the reverse happens; the energy of enterprise is checked and expenditure is unnecessarily reduced.

Good judgment in business is largely a manner of interpreting the conditions of a particular market at any given moment; and in the watching of prices as an indication of tendencies—of stability or instability, of probable loss or probable profit—we detect the secret of the importance that they and questions of currency assume in connection with the problem of irregular employment, and touch on the allied causes of movement—speculation and credit—both of which may become sources of industrial disturbance.

When enterprise is encouraged by speculation, and credit is inflated, employment tends to be brisk and well sustained. But excess brings the penalty of reaction. If demand has been miscalculated, the inevitable contraction ensues to adjust the balance, and loss of employment follows. How far speculation should go and the extent to which credit should be given, are, however,

essentially questions of degree. The latter is closely allied to that confidence which is the very basis of industrial enterprise, and great benefits can be secured by the legitimate action of both.

On the mind of the merchant or manufacturer price has its influence as affecting the chances of profit, and on the consumer in regard to the income available for expenditure. It is to be noted, however, that the trader, the contractor, and the financier are affected more directly than the wage-earner.

Price movements, it will be readily seen, are the outcome of a large number of antecedent causes. It is the complexity of these and the manifold ways in which they ruffle or perturb the sea of employment that the present analysis emphasizes, and makes it desirable to indicate some of the more special economic causes of discontinuous employment evidenced by our study of the London trades.

Alterations in the conditions of employment may be quite independent of any internal changes in the particular trade affected, and be connected rather with the level of industrial activity maintained in the country at large. Thus the engineering trades are primarily dependent on "cycles of inflation or contraction that affect the industry of the country generally," and the transport of goods may be cited as an instance of services, the fluctuating demand for which also illustrates this marked general relationship.

Other trades which depend for their activity upon the general level of prosperity are the group of industries that provide the commodities coming under the general heading of luxuries, viz. gold and silver ware, carriages, pianofortes, &c. Some of these are subject to special causes of seasonal variation in demand, but, in a general way, they stand in striking contrast to the great central class of trades, such as baking, boot-making, dyeing, &c., which provide the objects of a more persistent,

because more necessary demand, and are thus less subject to rapid fluctuations.

In other cases, a closer interdependence of trades is illustrated. Thus, the molasses coopers have suffered permanently from the substitution of beet for cane sugar, and the decline of sugar refining in London; the white-lead workers respond to the fluctuations in the painting trade, and are slackest in November and December; tank-makers are busy in spring with the revival of the building trade, while the ironfounders are dependent to some extent upon the same influence. Sometimes it is the slackness of one employment which causes briskness in another. Thus, in the winter, when brewers brew less, coppersmiths and braziers are called in to repair the plant, and many other similar instances might be given.

Different trades, again, are subject to different influences, according to the size and character of the market they supply.

In some occupations we find an illustration of the advantage that is secured by a more widely diffused internal demand; paper and cardboard box makers, for instance, were at first mainly dependent on the drapery trade, and closely followed its fluctuations, but their wares are now much more widely used, with the result that there is a greater equalization as well as an extension of the demand. The same thing is true of the tin canister trade, in which "potted meats in the early months of the year, sausages in the spring, fruit in the summer, fish in the autumn, and a little of everything in the winter, keep the men going throughout the year with a fair degree of uniformity."

A great local market, such as that of London, contracts or expands in noticeable ways, but those of its trades which supply a large external demand are liable to a new and further range of disturbing influences.

Thus, the Lancashire Cotton Strike of 1893 is reported as having been a cause of great slackness in the London pianoforte and harmonium trade in that year; and, in book-binding, Bible work is mentioned as having been curtailed in 1893-4 by the tariff legislation and commercial collapse in America; while the wire-drawers have suffered in recent years through depression in Australia.

Under modern conditions, with increased information, greater publicity and better means of transport and communication, there seems also to be a greater risk of rapid variation in the volume of trade. The magnitude and the ramifications of a great trading activity are apt to carry with them also the sting of uncertainty. For many of her products the world is the market of London, and there are few outside movements, whether they be troubles in Africa, depression in Australia, collapse in Argentina, or excitement in America, that do not re-act upon the condition of one section or another of London wage-earners. London and the British Isles have given an unequalled pledge to industrial fortune, but in embracing freedom, they have at the same time donned a fiery Nessus coat. They have left far behind the ideal of a quiet self-containment, and have subjected themselves rather to the invigorating influences of a world-competition. Expansion has become the law of our industrial life, and increasing wealth is its first-fruit. But uncertainty, irregularity and poverty lurk behind, and are also in part its offspring.

The disturbing effects of alterations in the fiscal policy of other nations are well-worn themes, but at home we do not suffer much disturbance from legislative action. There are few industries that can be affected by the annual budget, and the influence of general legislation upon employment, even when concerned with the regulation of industrial conditions, is, except as regards

women and children, incidental only. In the cases of electric lighting and the telephone system, and more recently in that of the auto-motors, we find instances, however, of industries directly dependent upon Parliamentary or municipal action for their development, and one thing often leads to another, as when the introduction of the parcel-post gave a sudden stimulus to the production of weighing machines.

The effects of administration are probably greater than those of legislation, and in some directions employments have been prejudiced in London by the action of the local authorities. The motive has been found in the general well-being, but the industrial structure, although resting on a strong foundation, is delicate, and parts are easily injured. In these cases, as in every other instance of disturbance, we see the first effects of interference in an increased irregularity of employment for some section of the workers. An illustration of this may be drawn from the practical abolition of the private slaughter-houses of London.

Advocates of this or that particular reform are apt to be impatient of the sluggish movement of Parliament and of municipal authorities. But it is a matter for congratulation when changes affecting trade and industry are introduced by slow degrees. It is invariably difficult to foresee the mischief that may be caused by ill-judged action, and, though there is often a very strong temptation to take up the heroic cry of justice at any cost, it is to be remembered that the heavens may sometimes fall. In matters affecting the material base upon which the whole political and social structure of the country rests, and upon the solidity of which even its power of moral and intellectual advance is largely dependent, it is specially imperative to "make haste slowly."

Certain more persistent social and economic forces tend

often in the same way to bring about irregularity of employment. From within there is the constant pressure of the new generations that are ever taking their place in the ranks of the adult workers. The tide of an increasing population is perhaps the most fundamental cause, on the one side, of well-being, but, on the other, of greater economic stress on this or that individual wage-earner. And as, from increasing intelligence, or from greater adaptability to the new conditions, the young battalions improve their power of competition, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact, that while the community gains, the industrial tenure of the men and women of the older generation becomes gradually less secure.

In some trades the pressure is from without, having its source sometimes in the competition of the migrant or the alien, and sometimes in the introduction of provincial or foreign commodities. Jewellers, furriers, tailors, boot-makers, cabinet-makers, tobacco-workers, confectioners, and hair-dressers, for instance, are largely invaded by foreigners, while it is provincial workmen who enter the ranks of coach-builders, farriers, bakers (the German influx in this direction having been to some extent arrested), and many sections of the building trades and of general labourers.

From this influx, London as a whole stands to gain, whether by the creation of a new local industry, as in the case of the wholesale clothing trade, or by the high level reached by some London trades, largely from their power of attracting the best provincial labour. But the weaker individual members of the trades affected suffer in the keenness of competition that prevails.

As regards the introduction of commodities, we find that in the building trades, although the products are mainly fixtures, the tendency is for an increasing proportion of the work to be executed in the provinces.

In many other trades in which the products are easily portable, the pressure of competition from outside markets becomes still more marked. Organ-builders and piano-forte-makers, for instance, have to compete more than formerly with provincial factories, and engineering, ship-building, coach-building, basket-making, comb-making, boat-building, chair-making and printing are among other trades in which the position of the London operative is being weakened by competition from provincial sources of supply; while carvers and gilders, lath-renders, oar-makers, gold-beaters, lithographic and colour printers, fancy letter makers, watchmakers, and sugar-refiners are among those that are subject to a similar pressure from the output of foreign markets.

There is probably a balance of total gain in all this economic movement. But a certain amount of displacement is inevitable, and it would be difficult to strike an exact account in any given case. In some instances, we see the competition acting as a stimulus, but in others the contest is too severe, and not only do individuals go under, but whole trades dwindle.

The extended use of machinery and the adoption either of new processes or of fresh applications of science to manufacture act in various ways as sources of industrial disturbance and displacement. They may eliminate a portion of the labour previously employed; or may change its character and standard.

We find illustrations on every hand of the substitution of products—stimulating the demand for labour in one direction and curtailing it in another. Thus, the use of tank vessels and tank carts for petroleum in the place of barrels, and of galvanized iron ware for wooden buckets, weakens the demand for the services of the cooper; and the introduction of wire-woven spring mattresses displaces

the palliasse maker. Perforated wooden seats for chairs are ousting the makers of the old-fashioned cane bottoms, and type-founders are prejudicially affected by the extended practice of stereotyping. Process engraving has largely taken the place of steel and copperplate; the use of iron spars, iron masts and wire ropes is withdrawing employment from riggers, mast and block makers; sail-makers suffer from the substitution of steam for sailing ships, and the building trades offer numerous examples of new products which have forced their way upon the market.

Printers, boot-makers, felt-hat makers, oil-millers, chemical workers, lightermen, and to some extent plumbers, joiners and builders' labourers, are among the trades in which a certain amount of actual displacement is being effected at the present time, and, in spite of the general economic gain that tends to follow from every successful substitution, the practical problem of unemployment stares in the face those individuals whose industrial position is assailed.

Changes in the character of the work and the standard of skill demanded are illustrated by the dyers and cleaners, whose improved methods have displaced many of the upholstresses and seamstresses previously employed, and also by watchmakers, rope-makers, potters, and tin canister makers.

The deterioration of skill due to changes in methods of production, aided by the absence of systematic industrial training, causes the anchorage of the individual to the place he fills to become less secure. In those trades also in which an excessive sub-division of labour prevails, the individual independence of the worker is weakened. He is unable to work unless he can be fitted into a scheme of organized production, and in most cases needs the help of plant which he cannot own, but

which forms a necessary part of the processes in which he is engaged.*

We must, however, not exaggerate the effects on the continuity of employment of this form of deterioration of skill, and apparent loss of independence. In no small number of cases the simplicity of the work and the consequent ease with which the requisite skill can be acquired, actually increase the number of the channels by which employment can be secured. In its extremer and lower forms we find this power of adaptation illustrated by the ability of the foreign immigrant, even in almost complete independence of his past occupation, to pick up some branch of one of the highly localized and differentiated trades in East London, such as tailoring, cabinet-making, or boot-making. The individual tends to become less capable, but some compensation is found in the increased mobility that results from the very simplicity of the processes required by his own and similarly situated trades.

In its higher forms, again, we find corresponding effects due to the general similarity of the machines used in many branches of the engineering trades, and Professor Marshall cites numerous industrial operations as illustrating the truth that "while there is a constantly increasing sub-division of labour, many of the lines of division between trades which are normally distinct are becoming narrower and less difficult to be passed."

But at the present stage of industrial development, when excessive specialization often means deterioration of power and limitation of adaptability, and when those who follow these highly differentiated branches of employment are often poorly educated and without the intellectual or

* A high value of machinery and plant relatively to the cost of labour employed, tends in itself to promote greater regularity of employment, since the loss from its disuse becomes an additional inducement to the owner to secure its continuous service.

physical vigour that are the great aids to industrial independence, the result is seen in a weakened economic position, and in the greater discontinuity of employment that tends to follow.

Increased simplicity of process, due either to the introduction of machinery or to the extending sub-division of labour, has many effects, of which one is the substitution of boy or female labour for that of the adult male. Printing, brush-making, wire rope and netting making, and tin canister making, are illustrations of trades in which this change has followed on the extended introduction of machinery; while cabinet-making, upholstering, fancy leather working and vellum binding, are among those in which it has resulted rather from an increasing sub-division of the work.

In many of the influences affecting irregularity of earnings, the hand of nature may be detected. At the present time, when, in spite of restrictive tariffs, the whole world is becoming economically more completely one, and when, in consequence, the more primitive fear of famine, and even of great scarcity, is far removed from the vast majority of the members of all civilized communities, physical conditions still remain, even in the urban centres of England, the greatest single disturbing influence on the state of employment.

By the time and bounty of harvests this great population is comparatively but little affected. In certain London occupations, however, a direct relation to agricultural and rural conditions may be detected, not only in the work of distribution, as in the handling of grain at the Surrey Commercial or the Millwall Docks, or in the case of greengrocers during the summer months, "especially the strawberry season," but also in such cases as the paper-bag makers, for whose products the fruit season rapidly increases the demand; or of the braziers, who are busy

when jam-makers "require new coppers or send in their old ones to be repaired."

In other instances, however, when nature is bountiful, and even on this very account a London trade may be depressed, as in the case of the oil-millers, who are usually slack in summer, when little oil-cake is required for feeding cattle, but were brisk when the hay harvest failed in 1893.

Changes in the temperature or the weather have a very marked influence on the state of employment, and the building trades afford the most conspicuous instance of their effects on the demand for labour.

Rain is an enemy to many occupations. Billposters, for instance, are turned off in wet weather, and at the Docks the same cause may throw from 500 to 2500 men out of employment on any given day.

The material loss arising from a day of dense London fog cannot be easily estimated, nor the occupations enumerated that it harms. The sole compensating effect is probably found among those who provide the various forms of artificial lighting.

A curious instance in which weather that is generally unfavourable improves the chances of employment of a particular class is that of the lightermen, for whom, in the absence of such an excessive frost as may lock the Thames, the unpropitious winter weather is advantageous. The explanation is found partly in the brisker coal trade of the colder months of the year, but mainly in the longer time that the work takes and the larger number of men it is consequently necessary to employ.

A still more important point is the effect of the seasons on demand.

There are a few happily constituted trades in which, though the seasonal effect on demand for any one article is considerable, a compensating influence is found in the different character of the goods supplied. Thus, in the case

of gas-stoves, those used for cooking are especially in request in the summer and those for heating in the winter; while in the lighter metal trades coal-scuttles and water-pots form the staple commodities, and these again represent a winter and summer demand. The same equilibrium is maintained for the zinc-workers; while philosophical and optical instrument making are among trades that are fortunate in producing commodities that can be safely made "for stock," since they neither deteriorate quickly, nor does their fashion change.

Generally, however, it is otherwise, and variation in demand due to physical causes is often followed, as with gas-workers, by an almost inevitable irregularity of employment.

The seasons as affecting temperature have a yet wider range of influence upon demand, and especially in the various branches of the clothing trade is this influence of the seasons noticeable. Coal-porters and woodchoppers again are busiest during the winter; while frosty weather causes a brisk demand for the services of the farrier. To some extent also the state of the thermometer affects the consumption of food and drink: for example, less beer and more spirits are taken when the temperature is very low.

On house repairs and renewals the seasons have also their effect. The "spring running" is not confined to the jungle, and house-cleaning may perhaps be regarded as one of the many signs of that renewal of life that nature's new year stirs. Thus, dyers and cleaners are busy then, and, although there is an autumn season, it is "the spring rush that causes the greatest irregularity."

Again, it is when the sunlight comes, and discloses the shabbier corners, that the need of something new to brighten the rooms is felt, with a resulting briskness in many branches of the furniture trade, such as bamboo and cane-work. The corresponding demand for goods at holiday resorts makes itself felt somewhat

later in the year, nearer the time at which the summer influx of visitors is expected, for whom preparation must be made. Paper-stainers, on the other hand, are busy in the winter, preparing the stores that will be needed in the spring—and many other trades are similarly affected.

The weather, too, as such, has its own sphere of influence on demand. The winter, with its heavy storms and fogs, is the busiest time for shipwrights and many other river-side workers, whose main employment in London now consists in making good the damage due to nature's destructive energy; while for pleasure boats the busy time is the spring and the quieter and warmer months of the year.

Lastly, the effect of weather and of temperature on life and health may be noted, and the corresponding effect on demand. Undertakers are apt to be busiest from November to April, and for the manufacturing druggists, also, the winter, when illness and disease are most rife, is the busiest time. Epidemics have naturally a disturbing influence of the same kind, and the outbreak of influenza in the summer of 1893 was spoken of as a red-letter time for the clinical thermometer makers and for the section of the glass-blowing trade that manufactures small medicine bottles. It may be remarked that this note of satisfaction at the access of new business due to a sudden demand is not echoed by the undertakers. They prefer, on the other hand, "a good, steady death-rate. Fluctuations annoy them," since a busy is sure to be succeeded by a slack time. They know that sooner or later their services must be demanded.

Fashion is a universally recognized cause of fluctuation and its influence is widespread. It becomes a serious source of irregularity in many directions, and the variable earnings of the women who work for fashionable West London dress-makers are among its many unsatisfactory results.

There is fashion in times as well as in commodities, and

the "season" in London, involving as it does the presence in large numbers of those whose power of effective demand is great, is another strong influence incompatible with continuous employment. In some directions the effects are mainly on the work of retail distribution, but a great anticipatory demand is often created, and this reacts upon the productive industries themselves.

In many occupations, however, the presence of the consumer is required in order to give the necessary stimulus. We find this influence reflected in the employment of goldsmiths, jewellers, and others whose products are durable, and still more noticeably in that of confectioners, cabmen, livery stablemen, farriers, and others who supply either a perishable commodity or some required service of the moment.

In other cases there is a more immediate cause of variation. The pantomime season gives a special fillip to gold and silver-wire workers and wig makers; great weddings afford brisk employment to lapidaries and workers in the precious metals; goldbeaters and gilders are specially busy when artists are preparing for the picture exhibitions of the spring; and Parliament, the political accompaniment of much of the social activity of London, is itself directly responsible for a considerable amount of fluctuation, especially in some sections of the printing trades.

In some cases we find the disturbing influence in the calendar itself; Christmas is the culminating time for many trades, and production is frequently seen anticipating the demand of the last few weeks of the year. Thus for letter-press binders, fancy leather workers, dressing-case makers, &c., the months preceding the Christmas season are the busy time.

Times of leisure again become sources of disturbance, providing employment for some sections and taking it away from others. All public holidays, for instance, not by any

means excluding the Christmas festival itself, make the pewterers busy, while the summer holiday season is the busy time for the portmanteau and trunk makers. But, while more leisured London takes its voluntary recess in August and September, an enforced holiday is in some cases imposed upon other classes. The retail newsagents are affected at this time, and in the letter-press printing these months are described, except for those who work on the parochial registers, as the dead season of the year. In other directions the leisure of some and the absence of others creates employment; amongst lead-workers, for example, autumn is the busiest time for the manufacture of sporting shot, whilst at this season also the electrical worker, with the least amount of disturbance to occupiers, can enter dwellings to put up fittings and installations.

Some of the above instances may perhaps seem trifling, but, even if activity be stimulated in other directions, no change is without significance which diminishes the demand for the labour of any set of workers, however few they may be. For it is by the multiplication of such small changes that the great problem of discontinuous employment is created. In the present chapter we have endeavoured to indicate even the tiny rivulets of industrial movement, for there is no general convergence of the streams, be they large or small. Each rather has its own measure of influence on the position of this or that group of workers.

An influence of a different order arises from the division of the spheres of work as between trade and trade.

The sharp differentiation of labour has been noticed as one of the main characteristics of the industrial field of London; and, so far as many of the more highly organized trades are concerned, it is in consequence becoming less and less open to the out-of-work artisan

or mechanic to make excursions into such other employment as might offer in slack times. Thus, while in a small provincial town the man is welcomed who can turn his hand with equal facility to plastering or to brick-work, and, perhaps, "do a bit of plumbing," in London this free movement from craft to craft is often restricted, and men are thus prevented, during periods of unemployment, from the search for, or the acceptance of, work in other directions.

Under these circumstances, alternative employment, if undertaken at all, has to be sought in quite alien fields: the bricklayer, for instance, must not try for work in the mason's yard; the joiner is forbidden to poach in the cabinet-maker's shop; and the fitter who endeavours to secure plumbing-work is looked at askance by members of the latter craft. Sometimes these restrictions limit rather arbitrarily the field of a man's possible employment, and leave him out of work when under freer conditions he might have been able to tide more easily over periods of slackness. This is the penalty that some are from time to time compelled to pay, in return for the advantage of the definite field of employment that is secured to them within the pale of the given trade. But though the individual may thus sometimes lose the reward of a greater adaptability through a convention that prevents him from doing what he can and allows him to do only what the rules of his own and other trades permit, in occupations where distinct spheres of work are usually recognized and observed, the general economic result probably secures to the community, with least friction, the most competent aggregate service.

It sometimes happens, however, that the allotted spheres of competing and allied trades are not well-defined, and in such cases overlapping produces more or less friction and open dispute, the disturbing effects of which again make for discontinuity of employment.

In the demarcation of industries and in the difficulties occasionally arising from overlapping, the trade unions often make themselves felt; but, in other ways also—sometimes through the persistent pressure of strong and active organizations, and sometimes as the consequence of an actual dispute—these societies inadvertently become themselves the causes of irregular employment. The actual loss of work that is necessarily involved in every strike or lock-out requires a sacrifice that is often never made good, either in the trade immediately concerned or in those that are allied and indirectly affected. A harmful break of this kind cannot be left out of account, even if the ultimate effects of the struggle be beneficial to the workman, so that employment is resumed under conditions better than those preceding the dispute. But the effects are not seldom to alter the ensuing conditions to the disadvantage of the wage-earner, be it by the actual removal of the work to the provinces or to other countries; by the more speedy introduction of machinery; by the more rigorous exclusion of the less competent members of the trade; by the employment of a cheaper form of labour; by the introduction or more rapid substitution of some alternative commodity or service; or simply by the fact that personal relations between employers and employed become strained and hardened.

Finally, we may observe that in several trades the normal effects of many of the influences making for irregular employment are accentuated by the conditions as to terms of notice under which men enter upon their periods of service. The right and custom of immediate dismissal on the one side and of immediate notice on the other is widely prevalent, and necessarily tends to make tenure insecure and uncertain. It is true that in some industries there has been a marked increase during recent years in the proportion of those in more permanent employment—

notably in labour at the docks, wharves, and warehouses. But in many trades no such tendency is seen, or even desired. The engineers, for instance, require no notice; a clause in the Builders' Agreements for 1892, and again in those of 1896, stipulates for only one hour's notice on either side; and so with the boiler-makers, who summarily leave or are discharged. Even among female shop-assistants, while in a few shops a week's, and in some a month's, notice is given, the ordinary rule is summary dismissal without any claim to wages by way of compensation.

It can hardly be doubted that so loose an attachment of the individual to the employer makes for discontinuous employment even though, as in the case of the operative builders, it may conform to the general conditions of his trade, or, as in the case of the boiler-makers, may conduce to a maximum of personal independence. The position of these Ishmaels of the industrial world contrasts strongly with that of the clerk of a first-class bank, for whom everything is arranged so that when once admission has been secured his permanent services may be retained; or with that of many members of the Civil Service, whose appointment is practically for the working life.

The conditions as regards terms of notice under which many men and women are employed go far to justify the opinion that certainty of work is even a greater need than higher pay; but it is not easy to say at what point the sense of personal independence and of personal responsibility can be best combined with fixity of industrial tenure.

In many directions something may be done to mitigate the evils arising from irregularity of employment; as by making "for stock" during dull times, or by arranging to move men from department to department as required. These remedies, however, are not equally available in all trades. Cork cutters, billiard table makers, and soap boilers

are instances of those who can follow the practice of making for stock, because what they produce is always the same and always wanted, and to maintain a comparatively uniform output is a profitable use of capital. But this is not possible when manufacture must wait for orders before it can act, as when fashion dictates what the next shape shall be, or in many other cases where production cannot safely forestall demand. Nor is it always possible to transfer workers from one task to another. Girls cannot do the work of men, nor are skilled and unskilled men interchangeable. Nevertheless, it seems that more could often be done in both directions to make employment more regular, or to apportion it more evenly.

The practice of employers at times of unavoidable slackness naturally varies. In some cases the indivisible character of the work renders any reduction in the amount of labour impossible, except by dismissing some of those employed, but when work can be divided the policy pursued becomes a matter of choice, and the considerateness of the master is then an important factor. The men may be put on piece instead of day work, so that each has a share, or all may work short time, and there are cases when the men themselves take the initiative and insist on short time for all as against the dismissal of some.

Sometimes the difficulty is solved on the side of the operative by recourse to an alternative employment. This is most practicable for the least specialized labour, but among skilled men also such a change is not infrequently made, as for instance from pianoforte making to cabinet making, from pattern making to carpentering, from clock-making to gas meter and automatic machine making; from scientific instrument making to electrical work, or from military harness making to boot-making. In these cases the temporary change is to a trade demanding less skill. The opposite step cannot be taken. In skilled trades, however, the pursuit of an alternative employment,

as already stated, is steadily becoming more difficult owing to the stricter demarcation of the recognized spheres of work.

In some occupations there is a recognized movement according to the seasons, as from gasworks in winter to the building trades in spring and summer, and with forethought and consideration much can be done to use more fully the opportunities offered by these alternating sources of demand.

Lastly, there are various ways in which the private consumer can increase the regularity of employment. He on his side, if he will, can do much to diminish the periodical pressure that comes from the rush of seasonal orders, with their attendant evils of long hours, hurried work, and overcrowded work-rooms. General rules are said to disregard very small considerations, but in industrial relationships nothing is unimportant. It is just the apparently small things, when done by large numbers of people, that become material causes of disturbance or the reverse.

Remedies for irregularity of employment, as we have already seen, are, to some extent, double-edged. The result of every improvement is to reduce the total number of workers needed to accomplish a certain amount of work, and the immediate advantage thus lies with the more competent men, who secure more than their previous share, while a proportion of the less competent obtain less, or perhaps have none at all. The road is hard, but it is the only one to a better state of things.

It is in such ways as those enumerated that the regularity or irregularity of employment is affected by personal qualities and social conveniences, by trade conventions, business considerations and natural forces. They make a part of that maze of influences in subordination to which men work. The individual for the most part pursues his task unconscious of the interacting forces which play

around him. At times, when some powerful influence causes unusual dislocation, his attention may be arrested. But as a rule the threads of causation are never traced. The woof is too tangled. The majority are, however, saved and sustained by a more or less persistent and reasonable self-regard, and by this self-regard mainly is order preserved and progress made amid the apparent chaos.

But, meanwhile, the uncertainty and irregularity of their industrial position lead to the personal degradation of large numbers. For them change and uncertainty have no stimulating force. They tend to fall alike in the industrial and the social scale, and although several of the influences that have been considered are signs, and even conditions, of a general progress, they make also for greater industrial stress and in many cases seem but to stereotype poverty.

CHAPTER X.

RATES OF WAGES.

THE subjects with which we are dealing overlap to a considerable extent, and with each successive chapter there is increased danger of repetition. Thus, the characteristics of modern industry in general do not differ greatly from those prevailing in London, and consist for the most part of the facts as to localization, business structure, training and organization of the workers, hours of labour and methods of remuneration, which have been treated in separate chapters. Nor is this all, for each particular subject involves some, if not all, the others. Neither trade unionism nor localization can be considered apart from business methods, working hours and rates of pay; nor remuneration apart from regularity of work, the chances of employment and standard of life. Nevertheless, each of these subjects, under certain aspects, claims distinct treatment.

As to remuneration, the most salient and remarkable fact is its variation in amount. There would seem to be no standard, and the laws by which wages are governed are difficult to trace. The variation is noticeable not only, or even particularly, between trade and trade. It is found just as much between man and man within the limits of the same trade; and applies also, though not so constantly, to different periods of the year with the same men. It affects rates of pay no less than results in income; it applies to women as well as to men, and to young as well as to old.

Take any of our tables of weekly earnings in any trade, and it will be seen that the range is from below 20s to

45s and upwards. Between these extremes—between 20s, which is never the bottom, and 45s, which is seldom the top—there is, probably, a concentration at some particular point indicating a standard rate; or there may be two such points of convergence, the one for the men with, and the other for those without, some special skill. But this concentration very rarely affects as many as one-third of the total numbers employed. Moreover, the amounts, quoted for convenience sake in groups—25s to 30s, 30s to 35s, and so on—really vary shilling by shilling, and except for such concentration as has been mentioned and an occasional preference for round figures, show an almost unbroken range, as will be seen by the examples given below :—

Wages returns (men).—Shilling variations in weekly earnings in selected Trades.

Weekly rate.	Coopers.	Engineers. &c.	Printers.	Millers.	Carmen.	Total.
Under 20s.....	13	321	128	108	40	610
20s.....	5	169	115	31	29	349
21s.....	3	187	33	59	42	324
22s.....	3	133	29	68	15	248
23s.....	2	92	31	45	20	190
24s.....	3	360	37	111	159	670
25s.....	25	164	59	73	71	392
26s.....	19	148	64	48	75	354
27s.....	20	231	68	42	67	428
28s.....	15	131	48	44	63	301
29s.....	2	90	28	27	88	235
30s.....	25	316	93	67	77	578
31s.....	1	62	28	7	15	113
32s.....	14	85	53	13	51	216
33s.....	10	253	31	10	20	324
34s.....	4	109	51	2	13	179
35s.....	33	234	66	33	17	388
36s.....	7	282	56	23	23	391
37s.....	24	80	53	3	6	166
38s.....	5	612	404	4	32	1057
39s.....	2	198	37	13	2	252
40s.....	9	339	184	19	17	568
Over 40s	68	1431	740	54	119	2412
Total.....	312	6027	2436	909	1061	10,745

In our tables we deal with actual earnings, and not with rates of pay, but the Board of Trade, in 1886, adopted a different plan; their calculation was based on "a full week's work," and except in some specially constituted trades, the range is hardly less noticeable.

What is the explanation? Why is one man paid much and another little? What are the dominating influences at work?

There are two influences that make for variety—opportunity and capacity. The one may vary as much as the other, but the two are so closely interwoven that they may hardly be disentangled even although in themselves they involve altogether different ideas. A chance advantage may determine on whom a lot will fall, but the capacity to make the most of opportunities that offer, goes much further in explaining the differences that prevail. There are also two influences which make for uniformity—the one, combination among the workers; and the other, customary usage and the standard of life. Whatever value may be given to these, they clearly cannot be the controlling agencies. On the contrary, they are themselves over-ruled; and the greater their strength, so much the more overwhelmingly strong must be the influences they fail to counteract. To say this is not to undervalue them, for though the standard of existence can do nothing to equalize earnings, it may set the tone from top to bottom; while combination may assist large bodies of men to mount the stairs of life or to hold on to whatever level they are able to reach. Still, we are finally thrown back on the individual elements in the wage problem. Men are various, and so are their earnings.

If the graduated scale of remuneration to be found within the borders of each trade is mainly due to differences in the efficiency of individual workers; the wide variation between trade and trade is to be explained by the nature of the services demanded or by the conditions under which the work is done. A trade may involve risk to body or health;

hours may be long or employment exceptionally irregular; there may be special expenses or special perquisites; trade union action may be strong or weak; the employment may have the character of a monopoly or be at the mercy of competition from "residual labour." These considerations explain why dockers earn less than stevedores, and stevedores than shipwrights; why the ordinary house painter earns less than the joiner, the vellum binder than the compositor, the cap-maker than the silk-hat maker; why scaffolders command more than builders' excavators, and jewellers than clock-makers; and why, for the same period of work, wood-choppers earn least of all.

But in suggesting the possibility of explaining to some extent the position of this or that class of men, or of any individual, it must not be supposed that the elements of the problem are fixed. On the contrary, it is essential to emphasize the vast social importance of movement and potential change. Fixity of condition is the exception, and possibilities both of amelioration and degradation are witnessed on every hand.

Turning now to the actual facts, I propose to state in a general way, what wages are paid for each class of labour, and to indicate the bases of the bargain.

I take 21s as the bottom level for adult male labour in London. The employments in which less than 21s a week (or 3s 6d a day) is paid are exceptional in character. When the rate is 18s or 20s the work is not only characterized usually by great regularity and constancy with no slack seasons or lost days, but is generally such as a quite young or quite old man could perform—men who probably have only themselves to keep. It is work which demands but little experience or muscular strength. Thus, many mail-cart drivers and a considerable number of one horse carmen are paid on this basis. Railway goods porters are another instance, but these men are transferred from one part of

England to another, and the rates paid are affected by other than London conditions. There are also a proportion of 18s or 20s men amongst the unskilled labourers employed in flour mills, rope works, &c. Many of these, and still more those employed in market gardening, live in the outskirts of London and share, more or less, the position of country labour.

For the mail-cart or railway work, or for other employment of like kind, a young man may perhaps readily accept the remuneration offered; but when he grows older and marries, or wishes to marry, he is refused the rise of wages he then badly needs. The employer finds no additional value in his services. He can obtain a younger man able and willing to do the same work at the same pay, or may have boys working for him for whom the change would be a fitting promotion. The man thus has no chance of a rise. He is perhaps encouraged to look elsewhere, but allowed to stay on meanwhile; and very likely does so for a length of time, rather than risk the loss of a certainty. But if he moves he demands 21s in his new place or perhaps more, and probably gets what he asks. In this sense 21s may be taken as a minimum.

From the employers' point of view this is the rate at which a labouring man, without any special skill or aptitude, can be hired by the week in London. But it would not be correct to say that men of this description *command* 21s a week, for more men than are required are always glad to obtain regular work at these wages. The offer of less money would be refused, but on this wage the occasional loss of a day would be put up with. If hired for temporary work by the day such a man might accept 3s 6d, though he would try for 4s. If hired by the hour, he would not be content with less than 5d, and might possibly be paid 6d.

From a labourer of this kind little is expected. In some cases honesty is especially important, in other cases watch-

fulness, sobriety or punctuality; in some a touch of intelligence is requisite, and in others a degree of strength. The man himself may perhaps be quite unaware of what it is that gives him his value. He is very likely too ignorant to comprehend exactly the place he fills. On the other hand he knows what he wants, and will stand up fiercely for what he considers his rights; and unhesitatingly throw up his work if these are infringed, or if any trial pushes his temper very far. Such men must be treated fairly well, or, however great the chances may be against them in finding another place, they will not stay. There lies in this recklessness a measure of security; every master knows it.

More than 21s will always be paid when the work demands any special powers. The qualification may be very slight, but, if the work ceases to be that which every man can perform, an extra wage is paid; and if his services are needed at all, the man who possesses the additional qualification may be said to command a wage of 22s, 23s or 24s. But his chance of obtaining work of the kind for which he possesses special aptitude, may perhaps be no better than that which the man who is only worth 21s has of obtaining such work as he can do. And although in case of need the man with some special aptitude might undertake ordinary work at the lower price, he would not be preferred for it; indeed he might not possess in an equal degree some moral quality—such as punctuality or sobriety—which may be the basis of the 21s man's value to his employer. The experience, or extra strength, or whatever it is that enables a man to earn the higher pay, may thus be of no value except under special circumstances.

The qualities that entitle a labourer to expect a few extra shillings a week are very various, and reach upward, till they may enable their possessor to demand as much as 30s a week, but they are not dignified with the name of "skill," and their possessor is still classed as a "labouring

man." Of these qualities, physical strength is the most important, and combined with some knack which practice gives, and protected perhaps by some degree of monopoly, may raise the possible earnings to a high figure—as with coal-porters, who often earn considerably more than 1s an hour. Such cases are exceptional, but amongst ordinary regular labourers, we find every rate of wage from 21s to 30s, corresponding to every degree of experience and strength. These rates, however, do not depend solely on capacity, but are modified as between trade and trade, or between one firm and another, by other conditions that obtain, or by the liberality or illiberality on the question of wages of particular employers in their policy of management.

The number of men in London within this range of remuneration is very great, but it would be a mistake to regard the demand for such labour as forming one market. Whatever quality differentiates a man from the quite ordinary labourer, differentiates him also from all whose special gift is not precisely the same as his, and, as time goes on, and as the special qualities are strengthened, this separation widens. The initial advantage, for instance, may be strength, which helps a man in almost any direction—but knack must be added, and knack applies to some particular kind of work. Or it may be teachableness that is the first requirement, and then every lesson tends to specialize. Further, as men become specialists they stiffen. Once, or perhaps twice, they may be able to adapt themselves to new demands on brain or muscle, but, like wire, they suffer from much bending, and finally may break, but can bend no more. To be young enough is always the first requisite if there is something to be learnt, but while a man continues at the work to which brain and muscle are accustomed, his services may be increasingly valuable for many years. There are some trades in which the aptitude of even a very old man is not lost. If, how-

ever, the particular work should fail and a fresh start be necessary, a man must begin again at the bottom. His special acquired value is gone, and if he is old he may even be found to have no industrial value at all.

Most labourers are paid weekly, but the day's work is usually the basis of remuneration, and very many of those who appear amongst the poorly paid on our lists have not had a full week's work. When men are employed permanently, the weekly wages are often calculated on a rather lower basis. Payment by the hour is not usual for unskilled, or semi-skilled, specialized labour, but when paid in this way, the rate is commonly 6*d*.

Skilled work, on the other hand, is very commonly paid by the hour, and receives from 8*d* to 10*d* or 1*s*. In most of the skilled trades competent steady men work nearly full time on the average, that is, overtime and short time about balance each other. Full time, however, varies from forty to more than sixty hours per week. As a rule the higher the rate of pay the shorter the day—forty hours at 1*s* are equal to sixty hours at 8*d*—and 40*s* a week is, in effect, the basis of remuneration for skilled work in London, men earning a little more or a little less than this according to the combination they may make of rates and hours within the limits given above.

Payment by time or by piece does not greatly affect the remuneration. By making special exertion, those on piece-work can earn more in an hour than they would be paid on time, and with men who are exceptionally energetic, persevering, and strong, the advantage may be maintained; but others pull down the average, and thus with piece-workers, even more than with time-workers, we have every grade of income between our extremes of "under 20*s*," and "45*s* and upwards."

The wages of boys do not vary much between trade and trade, and the difference between boy and boy is mostly a question of age. They begin, as a rule, at 5*s*, and rise a

little year by year. The largest proportion receive from 6s to 10s. As they grow to manhood their earnings (if they remain in the same employment) gradually rise towards 20s. From choice or from necessity they make changes very frequently, and often do not lose by so doing. The qualifications which entitle a boy to his wages are usually not very great; mainly readiness to do as he is told, and, in some employments, a knowledge of reading and writing and a little arithmetic.

Women who work regular hours for wages earn from 10s to 20s a week, and the earnings of girls may be put at 5s to 15s, but our statistics do not separate the two, and some full-grown girls earn nearly women's wages. Except for learners, who are usually paid a small weekly sum, payment is commonly by the piece, whenever piece-work is practicable at all.

Such, in general outline, is the range of remuneration in London. What has been written in previous chapters shows the conditions under which employment offers and earnings are made. The materials at our disposal are insufficient for such a tabulation of wages generally as would show, even approximately, the proportions at each rate, but a combination of our schedules of earnings may, nevertheless, be of some value if the conclusions drawn are not pressed too far. The very difficulties we meet with are themselves suggestive. If we attempt, for instance, to indicate the rates "recognized and current" in London trades, we experience the same difficulties as those which have been encountered by the County Council and the School Board as regards the men employed by them directly or indirectly on work for which they desired to secure the payment of "fair wages."

In some cases a trade union minimum can be given; in others we have to content ourselves with wide extremes; and in others, again, we can only make an

arbitrary calculation on a piece-work basis. Moreover, in many trades there are so many subdivisions or particular branches in which special rates are paid, as to make a general schedule of nominal rates valueless without much explanation and qualification.

Nor do we fare much better if we base our inquiry on actual weekly earnings, and attempt, by combining our schedules, to show average results. Each of these schedules needs to be taken with allowances which, though noted at the time, cannot be so borne in mind as to be carried forward into a general statement with any certainty of success.

For these reasons it is better to refer the student back to the various sections dealing with wages and average earnings in the four preceding volumes. Nevertheless, to the general reader there may be some interest in a statement of the facts as to the 75,000 adult male wage-earners for whom we have particulars. The numbers at each rate of earnings are as given below, the result being that rather more than half are returned as receiving 30s a week or more :—

	Under 20s.	20s—25s.	25s—30s.	30s—35s.	35s—40s.	40s—45s.	Over 45s.	Total.
	3866	13,108	17,078	16,818	11,594	6568	6044	75,076
Percent.	5	17½	23	22½	15	9	8	100
	45½%			54½%				

Those who have read the preceding volumes will remember—and the fact is dwelt upon in the first part of the present volume—that from these rates deductions must be made for trade expenses, and that the figures do not sufficiently allow for irregularity of employment and loss of time. The wages here shown are therefore a little too high, and it is probable, also, that the men included are somewhat too favourable a sample of the whole industrial population of London. A correction of these errors would modify the results to some extent. The proportions of those

who earn 40s to 45s, and over 45s, would be less than 9 and 8 per cent. respectively, and that of those who earn less than 20s would be more than 5 per cent. The number of those who earn from 20s to 25s would probably be at least as great as that of those who receive from 25s to 30s, and the classes at 30s to 35s, and 35s to 40s, would be proportionately reduced.

Fifty-five of the sections into which I have divided the total population are represented in the above statement. In twenty-eight of these the great majority are earning 30s or more, as follows:—

Jewellers	with 84 per cent. at 30s (or more) out of 412 scheduled	
Scientific inst. makers..	75	830
Shipwrights	75	140
Printers	74	2164
Omnibus service, &c....	74	1979
Coal-porters.....	72	958
Bookbinders.....	72	781
Engine drivers, &c.....	70	690
Cabinet-makers	70	591
Musical inst. makers ...	69	308
Coopers... ..	69	367
Gasworkers	68	7420
Saddlers	68	207
Glass & E'ware workers	68	743
Hatters.....	37	208
Brushmakers	66	439
Police	65	16,084
Watch and clockmakers	63	147
Chemical workers	63	403
Stationers.....	62	263
Building trades (8 sec- tions)	60	5907

Total.....41,041

If arranged in an order based on the proportion who earn 35s or more, jewellers still lead, but printers take the second place, and hatters come third instead of fifteenth as on the above list. On the other hand, bookbinders stand twenty-sixth, dropping out of this list altogether, and the police,

whose wages rarely rise above 35s, fall still lower ; otherwise the order is not greatly different.

Next we have sixteen sections in which there are from 60 per cent. to 40 per cent., or on the average one-half, who receive 30s or more. These sections are as follows :—

Paper manufacture ... with 58 per cent. at 30s (or more) out of 270 scheduled					
Metal workers (not iron					
or steel).....	57	“	“	1402	“
Leather trades	56	“	“	665	“
Booksellers & newsagents ..	54	“	“	399	“
Iron and steel workers					
(3 sections)	54	“	“	13,203	“
Trimming makers, &c. ..	50	“	“	170	“
Carriage builders	49	“	“	685	“
Dress & mantles (men) ..	45	“	“	60	“
Silk and woollen.....	44	“	“	90	“
Soap & candle manuf. ..	43	“	“	1276	“
Bakers & confectioners ..	42	“	“	431	“
India-rubber workers ...	41	“	“	518	“
Dyers and cleaners.....	40	“	“	114	“
Butchers, &c.	40	“	“	223	“

Total.....19,506

On this list the adoption of 35s as the basis in place of 30s makes hardly any difference in the order shown.

Finally, there are eleven sections in which less than 40 per cent. of those scheduled receive 30s or more :—

Grocers..... with 36 per cent. at 30s (or more) out of 770 scheduled					
W'house & messengers ..	34	“	“	976	“
Hemp & jute workers...	28	“	“	134	“
Millers, &c.	28	“	“	909	“
Mineral water makers...	25	“	“	258	“
Brewers.....	23	“	“	1502	“
General labourers	22	“	“	2335	“
Carmen	20	“	“	2311	“
Railway workers	19	“	“	1241	“
Municipal labour.....	19	“	“	3914	“
Milk-sellers	10	“	“	179	“

Total..... 14,529

Amongst these eleven sections there is comparatively little variety of work, and with most the pay, though not high, is secure.

In all except the most regular employments the weekly earnings given in the preceding statements exaggerate the proportion receiving more than 30s, but they nevertheless fall considerably below the *nominal* rates of wages in many if not in most of these trades. Nominal rates are often very misleading: a man in the street may receive 6d for some small service which does not occupy him as many minutes, yet his weekly earnings may yield less than a penny an hour. This is an extreme case, but the principle goes far, and average weekly earnings throughout the year, rather than the nominal rate paid for a single week, determine the standard of life.

The difficulties in the way of making any complete table of the prevailing rates of remuneration apply with even greater force to an attempt to give exact particulars of yearly averages. For while deductions have to be made for fluctuations of trade and for loss of work through ill-health or other causes, special remuneration for special work, or for overtime, provide additions to the normal rates of pay. The net results are therefore difficult to gauge.

The figures in the following tables are, we believe, approximately true for the average men of the trades mentioned, but they are inserted rather to emphasize the grave importance of discriminating between rates of pay and average earnings, than as giving averages that can be taken as strictly accurate. The first table includes those of the selected trades in which the normal conditions of employment are regular, and in which the difference between rates and averages does not exceed 8 per cent.:—

Normally Regular Occupations.

Occupation.	Time-work.			Piece-work.		
	Normal weekly rate.	Estimated weekly average for year.*	Percentage reduction from normal.	Normal weekly earnings.	Estimated weekly average for year.*	Percentage reduction from normal.
Engineers (time-work)...	38/-	36/-	5	See irreg. occupations.		
Zinc workers	38/-	36/-	5	—	—	—
Surgical instrmt. mkr.s.	40/-	40/-	—	—	—	—
Chemical labourers.....	32/-	30/-	6	—	—	—
Druggists, manuf.	25/-	23/-	8	—	—	—
Floorecloth labourers ...	21/-	21/-	—	—	—	—
Brewing, Stagemen.....	32/-	31/6	1½	—	—	—
„ Tunmen	27/-	26/-	3½	—	—	—
„ Cellarmen ...	24/6	23/6	4	—	—	—
„ Trouncers ...	—	—	—	26/-	24/6	5½
Carmen, 1 horse	21/-	21/-	—	—	—	—
„ 2 horse	24/-	24/-	—	—	—	—
Omnibus drivers	42/-	39/-	7	—	—	—
Tram „	38/6	36/-	6½	—	—	—
„ conductors.....	31/6	29/-	8	—	—	—
Railway Engine drivers	45/-	45/-	—	—	—	—
„ Signalmen.....	25/-	25/-	—	—	—	—
„ Shunters	21/-	21/-	—	—	—	—
„ Porters	20/-	20/-	—	—	—	—
Postmen	26/-	26/-	—	—	—	—
Sorters	30/-	30/-	—	—	—	—
Firemen (Brigade)	34/-	34/-	—	—	—	—
Gardeners, L. C. C.....	26/3	26/3	—	—	—	—
Police Constables.....	31/-	31/-	—	—	—	—
Dustmen	26/-	26/-	—	—	—	—
Artificial Teeth Makers	26/-	28/-	+7½	—	—	—
Newsagents (Collector	—	—	—	—	—	—
and Packer)	27/-	27/-	—	—	—	—
Millers (Flour).....	25/-	24/-	4	—	—	—
Total	802/9	779/3	3 %.			
Average.....	29/8	28/10				

In a considerable number of these occupations, especially among the lower paid, no difference between rate and average exists. In one case, that of the artificial teeth makers, the average even exceeds the normal rate, since in this instance regular work is accompanied by six hours estimated average of overtime per week throughout the year. Such an instance of excess probably does not

* Including overtime.

stand alone among the London trades. The normally greater irregularity of piece-work is illustrated by the fact that only two examples of occupations in which payment is made on this basis appear in this list.

In the second table, all trades have been included in which the difference between the weekly rate and average earnings of time-workers exceeds 8 per cent., but does not exceed 20 per cent., and in which, for piece-workers, the difference is between 8 and 25 per cent. The average deviations shown are $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and 18 per cent. in the two divisions.

Irregular Occupations.

Occupation.	Time-work.			Piece-work.		
	Normal weekly rate.	Estimated weekly average for year.*	Percentage reduction from normal.	Normal weekly earnings.	Estimated weekly average for year.*	Percentage reduction from normal.
Bricklayers	38/-†	31/6	17	—	—	—
Masons	38/-†	31/6	17	—	—	—
Carpenters and Joiners	38/-†	32/8	14	—	—	—
Painters (regular men) ..	34/-	29/-	15	—	—	—
Scaffolders	28/-	23/6	16	—	—	—
Engineers (piece-work).	See normally reg. occupa.			40/-	30/-	25
Leather, Beammen	—	—	—	35/-	30/-	$14\frac{1}{2}$
„ Shedmen	33/-	27/-	18	—	—	—
Tin-plate workers, East End	—	—	—	28/-	21/-	25
Paint-brush makers ...	—	—	—	45/-	38/-	$15\frac{1}{2}$
Compositors	38/-	34/-	$10\frac{1}{2}$	42/-	32/-	$23\frac{1}{2}$
Litho machine minders ..	40/-	32/-	20	—	—	—
Bill-posters	28/-	25/-	$10\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—
Upholsterers	36/-	32/-	11	—	—	—
French polishers (regular men)	35/-	32/-	$8\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—
Barge builders	40/6	35/-	$13\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—
Gold beaters (best men only)	—	—	—	30/-	26/-	$13\frac{1}{2}$
Pianoforte (back) mksr. ..	—	—	—	42/-	35/-	$16\frac{1}{2}$
Brewing, Draymen (1st class only)	—	—	—	43/-	38/-	$11\frac{1}{2}$
Total	426/6	365/2	$14\frac{1}{2}$ %	305/-	250/-	18 %
Average	35/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	30/5		38/1	31/3	

* Including overtime.

† Raised to 40/- in 1896.

The tendency towards a greater deviation in the piece-work trades is again shown, and in this connection suggestive comparisons can be made as to the compositors and the engineers, for whom weekly rates and yearly averages are given under both methods of remuneration.

In the last table certain "very irregular" occupations have been included, in which the deviation of rates from averages exceeds 20 and 25 per cent. in the two classes respectively.

Very Irregular Occupations.

Occupation.	Time-work.			Piece-work.		
	Normal weekly rate.	Estimated weekly average for year.*	Percentage reduction from normal.	Normal weekly earnings.	Estimated weekly average for year.*	Percentage reduction from normal.
Coopers (Dry)	—	—	—	37/-	27/-	27
Shipwrights	—	—	—	45/-	24/-	46½
Caulkers	—	—	—	45/-	15/-	66½
Goldsmiths Chainmks)	—	—	—	35/-	25/-	28½
Piano polishers	36/-	27/-	25	—	—	—
Brushmakers (Panners)	—	—	—	40/-	28/-	30
Rug weavers.....	—	—	—	30/-	21/-	30
Trimming weavers	—	—	—	35/-	25/-	28½
Mat makers	—	—	—	30/-	20/-	33½
Slaughtermen	—	—	—	75/-	40/-	46½
Bookbinders (forw'ders)	34/-	25/-	26	—	—	—
Gilders	39/-	25/-	36	—	—	—
Fr'nch polishers (cas'al)	35/-	20/-	43	—	—	—
Total	144/-	97/-	32½ %	372/-	225/-	38 %
Average.....	36/-	24/3		41/4	25/-	

In some instances, as in those of French polishers, goldsmiths, and slaughtermen, the deviations are due to normally recurring influences, while in those of dry coopers, of shipwrights and caulkers, they are explained by the generally weaker position of these trades.

The following short statement shows the loss of time and money to the individual wage-earner that is represented by the averages shown in the three preceding tables :

* Including overtime.

Showing the average loss of time and wages on the basis of the three preceding tables.

	Percentage difference between weekly rate and yearly average.	Equivalent loss per £ on normal rate per week.	Approximately equivalent loss of working weeks per year.
Regular Occupations.			
Time-work	3	/7	1½
Piece-work	5½	1/1	3
Irregular Occupations.			
Time-work ..	14½	2/11	7½
Piece-work	18	3/7	9½
Very Irregular Occupations			
Time-work	32½	6/6	17
Piece-work	38	7/7	19¾

The accompanying chart shows graphically the deviation in certain trades of the rate of wages from the stated average, serving to illustrate further the divergence between nominal and actual earnings. The extent of the difference is exhibited in the diagram by the lighter shading. The narrowing of this space in the lower paid trades is noticeable, and also the greater discrepancy shown when piece-rates are paid.

The causes of the discrepancy between rates and averages, shown in these tables and in the chart, have been already considered—generally, in the chapter on irregularity of earnings; and more specifically, in the various sections of the preceding volumes. It is necessary here, however, again to draw attention to the fact that the loss of earnings in any particular trade is unequally shared. The average for any occupation would no doubt apply pretty closely to a certain proportion of the rank and file of its workers, but, on the whole, would be the result of very unequal sharing between the more and the less competent of the workers. While many in almost every trade work

with practically no loss of earnings, and some do so even in the most irregular and uncertain employments, others are habitual half-timers. No point has been more emphatically emphasized by the present inquiry than the unequal efficiency of the members of any industry, and the relatively disadvantageous position of the less efficient. To them, competition deals out stern justice, whatever the cause of their inefficiency may be.

When we go beyond the individual wage-earner, and endeavour to make a statement of the combined resources of the family, the difficulties presented are considerably increased. The uncertainty as to the average earnings of the individual man is accentuated by the further uncertainty as to the actual composition of the family, and as to the wage-earning powers of such of its members as may be included among "others occupied." In some cases, moreover, the "family" of the census is made up of quite other elements than those of parents and children, and the household income may thus be a very complex affair; it may include contributions not only from the children, or the wife, but also from more distant relatives, or even from mere lodgers.

Our only positive information from which an estimate of family income can be made concerns the earnings of the heads of families themselves. We may, however, eke this out with an estimate of what the supplementary wage-earning power is likely to be.

Our returns of the weekly earnings of about 17,000 individual women, girls, and boys, yield a combined average of about 9s 6d in all occupations. From this amount it is necessary to make a deduction for loss of time, and though on this point we have rather little to guide us, we may perhaps accept as approximately true for the individual supplementary wage-earner, the average loss of time for all the adult male workers included in the preceding tables.

This average loss, estimated by grouping together the whole of the trades for which we have been able to make a comparison between weekly rates and yearly earnings, amounts to between 11 and 12 per cent., equivalent to nearly six weeks in the year, and would reduce the 9s 6d mentioned above to about 8s 6d. It is possible that the loss by irregularity of employment is really more than this, but on the other hand a good deal of money is earned by girls and young women who do not return themselves as following any regular occupation, and this amount would be extra. We may therefore be nearly right if we take the total supplementary earnings as equal to 8s 6d a week for each other occupied person.*

The total value of the supplementary earnings will, however, vary from group to group according to the average composition of the census family—that is, according to the proportion of its members who work. Our analysis has shown that the additional wage-earners range, for all trades, from a minimum of .55 to a maximum of 2.15 per family, and for those included in the following table (being, with the exception of the piece-work occupations, the trades referred to in the chart facing page 378) the variation is from a minimum of .62 in the case of the police, who are largely composed of comparatively young men with young children, to a maximum of 1.12 in the case of shipwrights and barge-builders, among whom there is a preponderance of the more aged.

In allowing for this variation in the constitution of the census families we are able by using the table given in Part I., chapter IV., to estimate the aggregate family wage-earning power in the scheduled trades ; and the knowledge

* We leave out of consideration the wages of adults who are not heads of families, as their money can only in exceptional cases be accounted as family income, and moreover the vast majority of the census families are so in the ordinary as well as in the census acceptance of the term.

we possess of the average total number in each family makes it further possible to calculate the income available per head.

In the following table we give the results based on this calculation :—

Table showing the estimated average weekly earnings of the whole family in selected occupations, and the share of the income available per person.

Occupation of the head of the family.	Wages of the head.		Estimated supplementary earnings.	Estimated earnings (whole family).*	Average size of family.	Earnings available per week per unit.
	Normal weekly rate.	Estimated average for the year.*				
Barge-builders.....	40/6	35/-	9/6	44/6	4.84	9/2
Gilders	39/-	25/-	8/9	33/9	4.67	7/0½
Tram-drivers	38/6	36/-	6/10	42/10	4.41	9/8½
Engineers (time).....	38/-	36/-	7/6	43/6	4.62	9/3
Zinc workers	38/-	36/-	7/7	43/7	4.68	9/3¾
Compositors (time).....	38/-	34/-	7/7	41/7	4.52	9/2½
Carpenters and joiners ...	38/-†	32/8	7/11	40/7	4.64	8/11
Masons	38/-†	31/6	8/4	39/10	4.82	8/3
Upholsterers	36/-	32/-	8/9	40/9	4.67	8/8½
French polishers (regular)	35/-	32/-	8/9	40/9	4.67	8/8½
French polishers (casual).	35/-	20/-	8/9	28/9	4.67	6/1½
Book-binders (cloth forwarders)	34/-	25/-	8/11	33/11	4.41	7/9
Leather workers (shed men)	33/-	27/-	8/10	35/10	4.73	7/7
Brewers (stage men)	32/-	31/6	7/6	39/-	4.60	8/5½
Tram conductors	31/6	29/-	6/10	35/10	4.41	8/10½
Police constables.....	31/-	31/-	5/4	36/4	4.58	7/11½
Signalmen (railway)	25/-	25/-	7/4	32/4	4.59	7/0½
Millers (flour)	25/-	24/-	7/10	31/10	4.62	6/10½
Brewers (cellarmen)	24/6	23/6	7/6	31/-	4.60	6/8½
Shunters (railway)	21/-	21/-	7/4	28/4	4.59	6/2

These figures must be regarded merely as a statement of probabilities. It is, indeed, sufficiently certain that the aggregate income of the *average* family will approximate to the amounts mentioned, but it is only in this way that the

* Including overtime.

† Raised to 40/- in 1896.

figures can be used. Any individual family may be composed of a much stronger or of a much weaker group of wage-earners than would yield the results shown in the table. But any exaggerated deviation in this or that direction need not be considered. It is neither by the more than usually well-to-do-family, nor by those whose position is one of more than average hardship, that the true conditions of industrial life are to be measured, and the statistical basis of the table justifies the assumption that the figures given in it indicate truly the points on which earnings converge—indicate, that is to say, the most common lot in the trades referred to.

The actual industrial position of the most degraded is left to a great extent undetermined, for it is not shown by the tabulation of earnings, nor indicated by the most apt study of economic causes. We have, therefore, to fall back on such general knowledge as we possess on this subject, and from that point of view much has already been said.

In considering the apportionment of responsibility for their wretched lot, the observer may lean this way or that. If he dwells on the forces bearing on the individual, and, from his lifelong surroundings social and industrial, quite beyond his control, he may be biassed in favour of a theory of personal irresponsibility. But place before him any single act of recklessness or depravity, and the theory crumbles away; no one ever can or does act upon it.

We are on the horns of a dilemma.

We ask some man, who seems to have fallen by the way, why he is thus overthrown, why he is lazy or drunken, why he knows no trade, why he is content to work irregularly or for a pittance wage? why his home is poor, and his wife and children not cared for? He may be without excuse, and the moral decadence of his own life stand out clearly as the chief explanation of the poor part

he plays. Yet we pause. We think for him, and cannot but consider: what of his childhood, of his early home, of his education, of his chances of learning thoroughly some well-chosen trade? And what, too, of the care shown him in the years of his youth and early manhood? Or, looking still further back, we seek to interpret his life in the longer retrospect of history. Thus a sense of a wide responsibility is realized—if we do not begin with it, we end with it—and sympathy tempers the apparently sure verdict of justice, even though it be recognized that action may, if it soften the effect of disasters, fail to check their cause.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CHOICE OF EMPLOYMENT.

For the great majority of men and boys the selection of an occupation may seem to be determined by adventitious circumstances. Yet there are many points, beyond such personal questions as temperament, physique, intelligence, and education, which call for consideration by any person in search of employment, either for himself or for another, which, though they may not be deliberately passed under review, do exercise a certain influence.

No doubt the question of remuneration underlies all. The wages will be compared with the hours worked, the chances of obtaining regular employment weighed, together with the opportunities of advancement. Consideration must be given to the extent to which a trade is open to disturbing forces, such as the competition of female labour, or the introduction of machinery, or the more subtle influences affecting regularity enumerated in a preceding chapter, while the character and measure of organization will need to be carefully considered in judging as to the chances of employment and good pay that a trade may seem to offer. Further, the probability of increasing or decreasing demand for the products of the trade, or for the services rendered, will need to be borne in mind. It is to be noted that the prospects of employment, even in new and flourishing industries, are affected in a three-fold fashion by the opportunities offered, the qualities required, and the numbers attracted. A trade opening up a new field is often quickly overrun, and a vigorous immediate demand for labour, especially if the skill required be not great, may be an actual cause of downfall for the wage-earner; whereas some little known or even declining trade may be safeguarded by its apparently weaker position;

since, on account of its bad name or inconspicuous character, new members are rarely attracted to it; and the existing members, like Brer Rabbit, will "lay low and say nuffin."

Although the various forces of competition allow few trades to remain close corporations, yet some elements of exclusiveness are often found, helped by organization or tradition, or resting simply on the measure of skill required. To those within the trade, or with access to it, such restrictions are a source of strength; to those outside, of difficulty. On the other hand, the easier the ingress, the more likely, if no great skill be demanded, is it that an industry will be honeycombed by the abuses of sweating. But if the exclusiveness that a trade possesses be due to the restrictive effects of the special skill demanded, it will be necessary to take into account the possibilities of being properly taught in London, and the amount of time and money needed in order to acquire the skill.

In balancing advantages it will surely be asked: Is Sunday or night work involved; and, if so, does the rate of pay compensate for such drawbacks? Is the work dangerous, or unhealthy, or dirty? Does it have any physically deteriorating effects, such as the discoloration of the skin or the formation of a "humme" on the neck? Is it accounted respectable? Is the work monotonous or varied? And, if free from such objections and attractive, is it so attractive and so easily mastered as to draw to itself a large mass of competitors? Many of these points will be reflected in the wages paid, and all are closely connected with the chances of obtaining and retaining satisfactory employment.

The opportunities of advancement to be considered may take the shape of a change of status, as to that of foreman, or of higher remuneration following upon an increasing mastery of the trade itself. Or it may be that opportunities are afforded of starting "on one's own account," but it then will be, or ought to be asked—especially if such

chances are numerous—whether the risks of failure are correspondingly great; for, if these loom large, the advantage of such opportunities may be only nominal, and in any case it will be necessary to weigh the conditions, whether desirable or undesirable, under which such a commencement is made.

It may also be asked whether, if employment fail, there is any natural transition to some alternative occupation? Will the work he undertakes make the man adaptable or leave him in a groove? Is the labour so specialized that degradation in the industrial scale is inevitable if the particular employment be lost?

The chances of supplementary earnings, either in the shape of perquisites or tips, or special tasks to perform must also be considered. Does the craft afford opportunities, as with carpenters and watch-makers, of securing extra work at home either from neighbours or at first hand in other ways?

There is a further series of considerations connected with necessary expenses. In a city where rent, always a serious item, yet varies considerably from district to district, the question arises whether the choice of locality for the home is disadvantageously restricted. For instance, if it is necessary to live in Central London a much higher rent will be incurred for the same accommodation than by those living in or near the “outer ring,” and such excess may not unreasonably be regarded as an expense of the industry itself. There are other outgoings which evidently have to be allowed for. Tools have to be provided, as in the case of the joiner, the carriage builder, or the pianoforte maker, all of whom must have a rather costly outfit, needing periodical renewal; or a cabman has to find ornaments and accessories to make his cab look smart, as well as waterproof clothing, rug, and whip. In many other cases special articles of dress have to be provided. With messengers the wear and tear of boots is a consideration, and in some instances, as with shop assistants and clerks, the standard

of respectability of appearance that has to be maintained becomes a claim of this description. A still more direct charge upon earnings is the provision that the workers in some trades have to make of part of the materials used—such as thread, or paste—or of the fuel needed for heating tools.

In London, travelling is a tax on industry of no little importance, which would have to be considered in connection with rent. It presses particularly on such trades as that of electrical workers, the locality of whose task is apt constantly to shift; and on operative builders, for whom both employers and locality are continually changing; and on those whose occupation is localized in a district in which domestic rents are almost prohibitive, as in the case of warehousemen engaged in the City.

Finally, in these days of greater stress but increasing leisure, the question of holidays would deserve some notice. It is true that for many wage-earners slack times provide the natural holidays of the year, frequently extending over a period longer than is desired. But in many directions the holiday question is important, and the answer that can be given to it directly affects the measure of attractiveness possessed by any trade. The municipal servant, for instance, usually secures a short holiday without loss of pay; whereas many a man is compelled to take a somewhat lengthy one in the slack season, and receive the while no wages. The ordinary mechanic in regular employment can take a holiday or not, according to his willingness to sacrifice his pay; but milk-carriers can secure no relief from their regularly-recurring duties, even on Sundays and Christmas Day.

In any individual case it rarely happens that the advantages and disadvantages of different employments are thus deliberately passed in review, at least with any degree of completeness. The economic adjustment which takes place is due to a much more unconscious process. At

the outset of the working life a haphazard start is often made, even when the need for money at home affords little excuse for it. The traditional occupation of the family is preferred because it is best known, and not because any comparison with others has been made; or the hint of a friend may be acted on; or the knowledge that some neighbouring employer who has a good character can take a lad;—for these and similar reasons the first steps are taken. But the boy, however his start may have been made, gradually forms his own opinion, and opinion is gradually formed about him; he discovers his particular preferences, his powers or his weaknesses, or they are discovered for him; and often in this way, even though no measure of forethought has been exercised, he tends to place himself, or to be placed, according to his fitness. Again, it is often some single concrete advantage or disadvantage that attracts or repels the individual worker: the previous choice of some young friend, and the fact that his companionship can be secured in a particular workshop, or the presence of a good-natured foreman, may attract; and on the other hand, a dispute, a fine, or some irritating regulation may repel, and help to divert the individual in this direction or in that.

It may seem, therefore, that the preceding remarks have been somewhat theoretic in character; no boy, however thoughtful,—no parents, however prudent or wise,—could possibly weigh all the considerations mentioned. Indeed, we ourselves have only fully appreciated them at the end, and as the result, of a protracted study of London trades. But, though the individual often seems to be but the creature of industrial circumstance, hasty and unthinking in action, indiscriminating in choice (when any power of choice exists), and often acting under the pressure of direct personal necessity, in the mass the advantages and disadvantages of particular employments tell. Their variety or monotony, their scope or their limitations, their

healthiness or unhealthiness, the possibility or impossibility of earning wages early in life, and all the varied favourable and unfavourable conditions that make up their character—their good or bad reputation in the working-class mind—all these considerations do finally direct the flow of labour. In this way the man is fitted into his place, work is found which he can do, and the level of remuneration in each employment is gradually determined.

The method is a rude one. Real capacity often remains unrecognised, whilst indifferent merit may attain to an undeserved position. Happily, the structural elements of the problem are constantly changing. Death solves some of its difficulties, but it is also attacked in other ways. Every rise in the general standard of life, and every expansion of the demand for better paid and less disorganized labour, helps in the solution of the problem. Inferior ill-paid labour, and the lower classes of labour generally, exist mainly because in comparison with other fields of employment the number of applicants is excessive. By fitting himself for more useful and more responsible work, and by seeking it sedulously, every individual may play his part in raising the standard; and may rest assured that by so doing he will increase the demand for that better work which he seeks to supply, as well as decrease the supply of that kind of labour for which it would be well there should be no demand. Moreover, there is probably no field of honest labour needed by society that would not, if worked with a sense of responsibility, become satisfactory in itself, both socially and economically.

The unsatisfactory nature of this rough process of adjustment is being continually diminished by the spread of education. The elementary school is a great leveller, not by any means in the sense of leading to a uniformity of capacity, and still less to uniformity in the distribution of earnings, but in the sense of making industrial movement more free. We obtain some indication of the forces

that are at work by comparing the industrial England of to-day with that of fifty years ago. The old fixity of condition has passed away, and in schools, railways, and industrial development we find the main explanations of this change. The colours, formerly constant, now, as in a kaleidoscope, shift and change and intermingle.

It is the young who are most mobile. In spite of all the limiting influences of ignorance, indifference and poverty, there is among the vast majority of parents, and among the young themselves, a great amount of active discrimination and shrewd thinking, tending surely to fill the ranks of the expanding and to deplete those of the contracting trades, whilst maintaining at a steady level those of the more stable occupations. Some may take the wrong tack, and either from their own fault, from the miscalculation of others, or from sheer misfortune, swell the lower ranks of labour by their failure. But these are the exceptions, and not so numerous as those who reach their "White house" of an improved position in life.

The rule of adjustment is not broken by the existence of these failures. It is seldom that a competent and steady man, even though pulled down by sickness, is found in the lowest ranks of labour. Those who are forced to accept disadvantageous employment are nearly always the incapable. At times of exceptional distress, exceptional phenomena may be witnessed, and examples of individual misplacement do occur; but in the main the truth is forced upon us that there is an approximately true relation between the men and the work they obtain, and again between the work done and its comparative remuneration.

We are too apt to regard the industrial world as composed of groups uniformly paid, and rigidly fixed as to their position. We see the picture around us—the carman, the bricklayer, the dock labourer, the tram conductor, the painter, the sandwich man—and the statical aspects of society, and the forces which uphold it, come uppermost

in our minds. But when we endeavour to trace the road by which each individual has travelled or is travelling, the dynamic forces at work are impressed upon us. Together with the permanence of the industrial type, we become conscious of the incessant change that is taking place in the conditions of a large proportion of the individual lives. Restlessness, ambition, ability, folly; hesitancy, indifference or dullness, carry men along, up and down, and down and up again, in the industrial as in the other roads of life.

Still there are considerable sections of the population, and even of the younger generation, for whom little freedom of industrial choice can be claimed. This applies to many working women and girls, but more particularly to the boys of the very poor, who are pitchforked into working life with a more than usual lack of care, as errand boys, as van boys, or as street-sellers. An idle father or an empty cupboard leads to many a false step for the children, false because taken either too soon or on the wrong road. In this way the seed is sown of a future crop of unemployed adult labour. It is the modern version of the bygone abuses of child-labour.

We have spoken of the choice of employment as in theory it should be, and as in fact it finally comes to be in the slow grinding mill of life; and we have said with how little prevision the first steps are often made. Even with kind and well-disposed parents there is a natural temptation to take the easiest course, and that which brings the best wages without delay. To do so may be to sell the future for the present—hardly ever a good bargain, though one that is often forced upon the poor. In the choice of employment, as in other things, it is in proportion as men grasp the fact that they have a future which can only be secured at the cost of some present sacrifice, and as they are willing to make that sacrifice, that they can hope to attain permanent prosperity.

CHAPTER XII.

ON INDUSTRIAL REMEDIES.

I.

As our starting point we recognise and admit the anomalous combination of poverty and industry. This it is that cries for remedy. Where there is industry there ought to be no poverty; all the more since we also recognise and admit that we can count as an influence in favour of industrial welfare the continued expansion of national trade and of London as its greatest centre of action, providing the scope required by an active people.

We therefore turn to the personal element and may find in "the reform of the individual by the individual," if applied all round, the great remedy we seek. So far-reaching in its influence that it might even be trusted to create the general prosperity on which it seems to depend, it must, as I have said, be applied all round—to masters fully as much as to men; to those who consume as well as those who create; to those who buy as well as those who sell. It would cause production to be better adapted to requirements; management to be more capable and more thoughtful; labour more persistent, more honest and more efficient; demand more considerate and undoubtedly of enormously greater volume.

These two great inter-connected influences, industrial expansion and individual character, pervade the whole of industrial life, and through them every other influence we can name is exerted, but when we descend to particulars we find their practical application very difficult. A trade languishes because it does not meet the especial wants of its customers, or fails for lack of science. In what way is the management to be amended? Another, perhaps, is wrecked by the short-sighted, ill-timed or

ill-judged action of a trade union. The mischief is done. It may be that the revival of a discarded fashion or the repeal of a prohibitive fiscal law by some foreign government is the only chance for a ruined trade, or there may be no available remedy, save, if there be the requisite mobility, in the transfer of capacity to some other field. We encounter the too often neglected forces of economic friction.

The industrial evils for which remedies are sought are infinitely various in nature. We think of the chemical worker earning fairly good wages, but ruining his health by the wilful neglect of reasonable precautions; of the half-skilled plumber; of the bricklayer on strike, or the bootmaker locked out; of the housewife shopping unnecessarily late on Saturday night; of the tailoress losing time through waiting at her employer's door for a retarded task; of the pressure in the West End during the busy weeks of the London season; of the long hours and insanitary conditions of small workshops; of the discomfort and unhealthiness of the home of the domestic fur-worker; of the young mother returning to the factory; or of the boy of twelve selling papers in the street. Very many needs are suggested, and the remedies considered in detail are inter-connected in various ways. The most certain method, for instance, of securing better health may be by shorter hours of work, or the only way of obtaining higher wages may be through increased efficiency.

Or, if we consider the principal objects which remedies have in view—higher wages, more regular work, shorter hours, better health and longer life, greater personal safety, proper training and increased efficiency, and the maintenance of industrial peace—it is clear that the pursuit of all these objects is not equally reasonable or requisite in every field of employment. To some they do not apply at all.

The appropriate instrument of remedial action will

vary with the object aimed at. Sometimes we may find the instrument within the borders of the trade concerned. To employers and foremen, for instance, we may look for better management and more thoughtful distribution of work, by which the maximum of regularity may be secured, not only from week to week but also from day to day; or to the wage-earner for greater care in using the safeguards prescribed for health; or to employers and employed alike for the frankness and consideration which conduce to the maintenance of satisfactory relations.

Or we may have to look outside the borders of the particular trade: to Parliament for legislation or to local authorities for bye-laws; to the central or local government for better administration; to the consumer for some discrimination as to what is purchased, that it be not "cheap and nasty," and for some regard as to when purchases are made or orders given, so that undue pressure or excessive hours of work may be avoided. Or finally, when those within the trade are either apathetic or helpless, we may find in an aroused and enlightened public opinion the main lever by which the tardy wheels of reform may be quickened.

There is thus no single panacea, no philosopher's stone by which economists or statesmen can touch the surging life of London, even with the glint of an age of gold. It is, indeed, not this or that particular remedy that is the most essential need, but rather a vital movement; not laws or regulations, but the creation of a quiet determination on the part of men and women, rich and poor alike, to do their individual share.

Industrial remedies must not be curative, only, of existing evils; they must be preventive also; and prepared to meet new evils as they arise. Again the same large principles apply; foresight and adaptability are demanded from the individual to take advantage of the

cushion of continuous expansion, and in the facts as to declining and expanding trades we have evidence of the remarkable, and for the most part unobserved, processes of industrial adaptation and elasticity. But important as are the facts of these changes, far more so are those brought about by death. If only we could apply effective remedial action to the young, in a generation the evil conditions which seem so unchangeable would be swept away. Thus it is that education comes to be of the first importance.

What we seek from education is not simply, nor perhaps even primarily, economic in character, but the best hope of economic improvement is insured by this foundation; and on this basis the adoption of other remedies becomes more possible. Few of these have an entirely external source; and, even when authority steps in, there is nearly always need for the intelligent co-operation of the individuals affected. Factory legislation and sanitary measures, for instance, are more easily administered for those who can understand and appreciate the regulations by which they benefit.

The most valuable external influences, however, are not those which control the individual, but those which enable him to act more freely and more intelligently for himself. In this respect above all, we recognize the fundamental importance of education as an instrument of industrial reform. For some, the advantages secured by a complete scientific training may be the first consideration; and for others a sufficient though more limited technical training. But for all, the "education of the citizen" will be calculated to have solid and beneficial results, and the extent to which the advantages of technical education in particular, and of improved industrial training generally, will be used, is largely determined by the thoroughness of the preliminary teaching. From this consideration the proposal to raise the age of legal employment derives its great practical

importance. At present it is often just the quickest children who, because they are able to pass the prescribed standards at the earliest age, are most liable to be withdrawn from the school influences from which they, especially, are able to benefit. Still further restrictions on the employment of the young would be desirable, but may not be practicable.

The thousand opportunities for earning precarious livelihoods presented by great centres of population are an evil peculiarity; a source of demoralization for all who come within their influence, and most especially for the young. It may be that this does not apply to London to any disproportionate extent when compared with its vast population, but in a village or small town, those who gain a subsistence in this way are merely a few, or it may even be only isolated members of society; whereas, in London they form a large class, exerting the influence of a class, and affording day by day a deplorable and seductive demonstration of the possibility of scraping through life without knowledge of any trade, without discipline, and without even the elements of an orderly industrial life. If it were possible by stricter police regulations against loafing and cadging, no less than against begging, to check the manufacture of this class, it would be desirable by these means to weaken the harmful influence of the school of irregularity which some of our public thoroughfares present.

The immense London demand for boy labour, at high rates of wages, but for employments which have no future, is, from many points of view, a matter for regret, but errand boys, messenger boys, van boys, and those employed on mechanical tasks in excessively specialized trades, have at any rate a better chance than those who find their living in the streets, and the fact that there is this demand for young labour facilitates the absorption of wastrel boys into industry.

In the enforcement of special provisions for the preservation of health and safety we have a wide field for external remedial action, although the most important steps, here as almost always, must be taken from within. The motives of the simple Acts passed in the early years of the century, and those of the complex code of factory and workshop regulations now in force, are the same; but the scope has been extended, and in most respects adult workers of both sexes are now as much protected by law as the children and apprentices who were the special care of earlier legislation. In provisions for cleanliness, ventilation, amount of space and sanitary arrangements, there are now practically no exceptions in respect of age or sex; but it is of less importance to ask what is, or might be, the scope of the regulations of the Factory Acts and Public Health Act, than to consider by what system of inspection or penalty they can be enforced.

It is of the first importance that the regulations, if observed at all, should be observed by everybody alike, since otherwise, if the enactments are in any way a burthen, those who conform to the law are penalized by so doing. This equality before the law is far from being attained. In the practical work of administration the first task is the registration of the places liable to inspection, and this is most difficult in those very districts in which the enforcement of the Acts is most needed. In many parts of London it has not been found possible to complete even this initial step, and much time is lost owing to the frequency of changes of address. The task, undertaken as it is with insufficient clerical and subordinate assistance, occupies several years.

In this connection, however, I strongly advocate the placing of a large share of responsibility on the landlord, not only in the matter of registration, but as regards all provisions of the law. Questions of structure, ventilation, sanitation, &c., are directly his concern, and registration

should be. It is his proper business to know the purpose for which his premises are used, and he should be responsible for their fitness. Neglect might fairly be punished by a substantial fine. Questions of crowding and of hours worked are directly the concern of the tenant, but it would not be amiss that the landlord should be also responsible, in so far as to be ultimately liable for the payment of any fines incurred in these respects which could not be recovered from the tenant. In this way, and, as I believe, in no other way, the necessary regulations could be uniformly enforced. It may be thought unfair to put this burthen of responsibility on the landlord, but he has the remedy in his own hands. If he can collect rent he can collect fines, and, moreover, may do much to prevent their being incurred. His interest will be with the keeping of the law, not with its breach, and so in him inspection will find an ally. It is by performing such duties that urban landlords can best justify and make secure the great position they hold in the social economy. Should the landlord, however, shrink from the direct performance of this duty, he will be all the more obliged to protect himself by charging some extra rent to any tenant whose conduct or responsibility was not to be trusted, and this extra rent, by placing the probable law-breaker at a disadvantage, would, in so far, bring about the desired end.

The strict and uniform enforcement of such regulations would do much to raise the character of small workshops, and would tend to bring about a desirable separation of the premises used for work from those used for domestic purposes. At present, although the work of factory inspectors and medical officers of health, with their subordinates, is often excellent, they seem to act too much in the dark, emerging only from time to time before the public gaze through the medium of a police court. In this connection the effects of the agitation at the time of the appointment and during the investigations of the Sweating Commission,

are suggestive. The public attention which was directed to the conditions under which much work was at that time given out to sub-contractors led, as is well known, to a temporary improvement in some trades. Employers became alarmed, and it does not appear why the powers of publicity and the motive of fear should not be more constantly used.

A question arises as to the definition of a workshop. The more perfect the system of registration and the more clearly the responsibility of the landlord can be established, the further will it be possible to carry the operation of the law. The object must be to include all manufacturing employment in which wages are paid, or in which several persons are working together in combination. In all such cases it should be recognized that the State enters as a third party and may insist, for the general good of the community, that certain conditions are observed. Fair play and sound policy alike demand that the pressure thus exercised is not limited in its incidence to any particular methods of employment. If factories are regulated, workshops must not be uncontrolled, nor must small workshops evade a law to which large ones are liable; nor, so far as possible, must work done in the homes of the people escape the responsibilities that fall upon workshops. The net, therefore, must be large and its meshes small.

In effect, if the landlord is made responsible for the registration of all premises used for industrial purposes, few would escape, and at this point the responsibility of the landlord would be met and carried to a still further point by that already recognized, though not fully enforced, of the employer of outworkers.*

* It is provided by the present Act that these employers shall furnish the factory inspectors with the names and addresses of their out-workers, and they are also made to some extent responsible for the sanitary conditions under which the work is done. But the power of the inspectors to take any effective steps in regard to the homes of these outworkers is still an open question.

If the commanding position of the landlord be not used, and if the carrying out by the mere multiplication of inspectors, of the enormous task imposed by the present Acts be impracticable, then some scheme of guerilla warfare should be organized, to be conducted by peripatetic staffs drafted without warning from district to district as required. If such a practice, with its possibilities of disclosure, were accompanied by a more liberal diffusion of information respecting the Acts, much might be hoped from it, but even so, better local information is essential.

The present method—with its slow and imperfect process of registration carried out by an insufficient staff, with names and particulars discovered as chance offers, and with an occasional remedy enforced or conviction secured—is not unlikely to resolve itself into an administration *pour rire* tending to induce a contempt for the law. No steps are taken to ensure public co-operation or the creation of a sound public opinion on these matters. It is nobody's business to make known even the leading provisions of Acts of the greatest public utility, nor are the Acts themselves either very accessible to the public or their language easily understood. When a great measure like the Factory and Workshops Act of 1895 is passed, the Minister in charge heaves a sigh of relief, and the Government is satisfied if a reputation for successful legislation has been secured. The Press ceases to discuss the provisions of the measure, and the task of administration is hampered by the resulting indifference and ignorance.

The defects and ineffectiveness of administration are accentuated at the present time by the complexity of the Acts themselves and the dual control that exists. A complete independence of action on the part of the Government Inspectors and the Local Sanitary authorities, seems to be required, but should be accompanied by a systematic exchange of information and a stricter co-ordination. The present plan by which the sanitary authority has in

effect little power over factories except to take action when called upon by the inspector; by which the inspector not infrequently prefers to report sanitary defects in workshops to the sanitary authority, although he has the power to act independently; and by which he has no power at all over domestic workshops; is clearly one which leads to a considerable amount of perplexity on the part of employers as to where authority really rests, as well as to overlapping efforts and slow procedure.

I do not propose to discuss the scope of the regulations that the law should attempt to enforce. I would only point out that very limited regulations uniformly acted on would be far better than the most elaborate rules, which are habitually evaded by the ill-disposed. It may be well that the rules should go a little beyond this minimum, and be to some extent counsels of perfection, but in their administration it is desirable that the pressure should be gradual. The most essential thing is that it should fall equally on all.

II.

The efficacy of trade unions as remedial agencies is mainly due to the assured and well-defined relationships in industrial life which they do much to secure. The best systems of conciliation and arbitration are still being tentatively sought by tedious and painful experiment, but it is noteworthy that the trade union form of combination is the principal basis on which all industrial diplomacy is founded. This is the greatest contribution made by trade unions towards remedial action. The organization that can wield the weapon of the strike is also, and for that very reason, that which can be turned to the service of peace, and thus at the present time the existence of the trade union in the strongest form possible, and under the ablest, and most responsible, guidance, often becomes the

best guarantee of the avoidance of conflict. The definiteness sought by these societies in endeavouring to secure the best conditions possible from employers, apply to the relations amongst the members themselves, as well as to those between employer and employed; and even extend in some cases to those between unionist and non-unionist workmen.

As a result of the position thus secured, trade union action forms one of the chief methods by which the principle of representation finds its place in industrial life. The elected officials represent not only the members of the union, but one side of the general interests of the trade, and when they confer with an association of masters the representation is fairly complete. In this way the exercise of a collective control becomes possible.

We have seen, however, that organization is very far from complete. There are organized trades, unorganized trades, and disorganized trades: trades which lend themselves to permanent organization, and others in which the principle, though always alive, only operates from time to time; others again which only benefit indirectly, bearing none of the burthen themselves; and finally there are those to which the principle does not seem to apply at all.

In speaking of a "disorganized" trade we have in view, not one in which no trade union exists, but one in which the relations of employers and employed are fluctuating and uncertain, in which labour is either over-specialized or undifferentiated, or has its scope ill-defined, and when, in consequence, the evils of low wages, long hours, or unhealthy conditions tend to creep in. The disorganization of an industry is a sign of disease, but is compatible with very complex industrial forms and with a highly developed localization.

Trade union organization is rarely, if ever, complete; and the attempt to secure stability of class-relationships when accompanied by incomplete organization is undermined by the

position of the non-unionist. The danger may take the form of actual hostility between the organized and unorganized members of a trade, or may simply reflect the general failure of strength that springs from the weaker position in which the latter are placed. In only a few of the most highly organized trades is the actual exclusion of non-unionists attained, though in many trades the unionists and non-unionists do not work together. In some cases steps have been taken towards the counter-organization of free labour. Whether this be done or not—and it is never done on the independent initiative of the wage-earners themselves—an internecine struggle is apt to follow any attempt to exclude non-unionists, with the usual charges of selfishness against the “blackleg,” and of “tyranny” against the union. Where the union, though it may not be entirely comprehensive, yet includes all the more capable workers, it is indeed able to force wages upwards, but in so doing endangers perhaps its own position, and certainly that of the inferior workers “beyond the pale”; the operative builder obtains 10*l* per hour, and the stricter elimination of the less skilled man follows; the compositors secure a minimum wage of 38*s*, and the numbers of unemployed among their members increase. It is the same if the improvement in the terms of labour springs from the voluntary action of the employers. The local vestries, for instance, increase wages, and the services of the less competent and elder men are apt to be no longer required; or dock labourers are granted more permanent employment and higher pay, and the casual “docker” is driven to seek a still more precarious livelihood elsewhere. Thus, the pressure that is relieved at one point is apt to become somewhat more severe elsewhere: the advantages that are secured to some are accompanied by a greater struggle for others, and especially for the less competent and more aged. The reflex effects of remedial action have thus to be watched and guarded against, lest they engender a new disease in some unexpected form.

In this connection the influence and action of trade unions as regards the evils of irregular employment must be specially noticed.

On the causes of a fluctuating demand for labour they can exercise no control, though they may, in some cases, by the diminution or abolition of overtime, or by securing the adoption of a shorter working day, obtain a more equal distribution of employment over the year, and thus somewhat greater continuity of work. But these influences, except in so far as they may react beneficially on the moral habits of the men, are of small account. The abolition of overtime, moreover, may even, as we have already said, tend to increase the irregularity of employment.

It is in other and more direct ways that trade union action is actively beneficial in remedying the evils of uncertainty or lack of work. In some trades the difficulties of old age are met by a superannuation allowance, and in a larger number out-of-work pay is provided. Moreover, every trade union branch is to a certain extent an employment bureau, and the rarity of application by financial members of trade societies to the municipal or voluntary labour bureaux of London is explained, partly perhaps by sentiment, but also, and chiefly, by the fact that the members have at their disposal other and more effective means for finding employment. The recognized and unsystematic ways by which a man out of work finds, or endeavours to find, employment—such as the help of friends; the chat of the dinner-hour; “looking round”; following up particular foremen; the social club, the public-house, or the occasional advertisement—are at the disposal of most men. But a well-organized trade union alone has the power to provide the machinery by which any degree of system is introduced into the method by which the individual wage-earner, out of gear for a time with the industrial machine, is helped to find his place again.

In the case of all societies in which out-of-work benefit is given there is the corporate motive of economy that

makes the members of a branch desirous of finding employment for anyone who may be drawing on the funds. But even apart from this, when there is no out-of-work book, and no recognition of, or reference to, the branch by either employer or foreman, the branch is still one of the best bureaux of information available to the individual man. If a popular man, with wife and family, his chances are the better, always provided he be a fairly good workman.

The difficulty which arises with those who, from some personal or trade disqualification, are constantly thrown out of work, cannot of course be avoided by the trade union, for the "in and out" is as recognized a problem in the field of employment as in that of poor-law administration. As a rule these men are unwelcome members of a union, but while they remain on the books their chances of obtaining work are at least increased by the machinery and all the sources of information that the branch provides; and their own efforts are stimulated by the pressure it exercises against idleness.

The practical difficulty which the societies have to overcome from this source, as well as the importance of the out-of-work benefit itself, is well illustrated by the experience of the London Society of Compositors in which, during the years 1891-4, 40 per cent. of the money expended in this benefit was paid to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the members.*

* The position of this Society during the four years is shown by the following table :—

	Income.	Total Expenditure.	Unemployed Benefit.	Number of Members.
1891	£18,253	£20,613	£10,639	9350
1892	19,554	21,595	11,906	9798
1893	20,935	23,824	11,865	10151
1894	26,956	26,349	16,584	10011
TOTAL ...	£85,698	£92,381	£50,994	

Of the £51,000 disbursed in unemployed benefits, no less than £21,000 was paid to 712 members who were out of work *some part of each year*. A

The influence of trade unions on wages, hours of labour, &c., has been considered in Chapter VI., and some of the possible remedies for irregularity of work have found their place at the end of Chapter IX. One of these—the possibility of change of employment—considered as a far-reaching industrial remedy, must be regarded not as an oscillation between trade and trade, but rather as a power of complete transition to some other field of industry should necessity arise. In this sense movement and the capacity for movement and change are real remedies, for they are an application of that adaptability the possession of which is the best if not the only security against lapse of employment.

further sum of £11,000 was paid to 812 members who applied in *three out of the four years*. Thus £33,000, or 65 per cent. of the total expended, went to 15 per cent. of the members.

The following table, prepared by Mr. G. E. Arkell from the returns published by the Society of 9370 applications distributed among 4347 individual members, shows the actual distribution of the unemployed benefit during the four years. It will be observed that the amount received per member increases regularly with the number of years in which application is made, those who applied in all four years receiving in the course of each year nearly twice as much as those received who applied in one year only. They were not only out of work but very much out of work, and their support was proportionately costly to the Society. Age or misfortune may partly account for this result, but the chief explanation is probably to be found in a lack of efficiency due to other causes.

London Society of Compositors (1891-4).

Received Unemployed Benefits in	RECIPIENTS.		TOTAL BENEFIT RECEIVED.		AVERAGE PER MAN.		
	Number.	Per Cent.	£	Per Cent- age of Total.	Per Year.	For Period.	
One Year only ...	1620	37½	6,407	12½	£ s. d. 3 19 0	£ s. d. 3 19 0	
Two Years ...	1173	27	11,110	22	4 15 0	9 10 0	
Three Years ...	812	18½	12,368	24	5 1 0	15 3 0	
All Four Years...	742	17	21,109	41½	7 2 0	28 8 0	
	4347	100	50,994	100	5 9 0	11 5 0	

Even more practically valuable is the facile elasticity that enables a man readily to turn in whatever direction is suited to the occasion within as well as without the recognized limits of a trade. It may be only in new countries that a Jack-of-all-trades is in place, but the spirit that can find many roads to a desired end is as valuable here in England as anywhere.

In the consideration of possible remedies, associated industrial effort must not be omitted, for it is an influence which may be pregnant with great possibilities of progress in the future, if not for the present generation. Up to the present it has not accomplished very much—especially in London; but the movement towards co-operative production has gathered strength considerably during the ten years that our inquiry has occupied.

In the variety of its methods lie many of the elements of its strength. According to the character of the business and the intelligence of the workers, these methods may range from the simple giving of a bonus on wages to the completest forms of co-partnership in industry. In such forms of association the solution of many difficulties may ultimately be found to rest; not as between consumer and producer, which is the distinctive work of distributive co-operation, but as between capital and labour.

III.

It cannot but be admitted that the industrial conditions under which we live lead to poverty, or at least that poverty follows in their train. The immediate explanation of poverty is usually very simple: No savings; no opportunity of remunerative work; inadequate pay; inability or unwillingness to do the work that offers; reckless expenditure—such are the causes of which one thinks. But in seeking remedies it is rather for *cause*

causarum that we must look. We ask why pay is insufficient, how it is that work cannot be had, by what chance the sufferer has no share of accumulated wealth; or we may seek to explain incapacity or to analyze sloth. Finally, in the attempt to reach the very root of things, we are driven to turn these questions another way, and to inquire why work should be remunerated at all; how there comes to be any accumulated wealth, or what claim any one in particular has to its enjoyment. I do not wish to pursue abstract reasoning of this kind, but when, as is sometimes the case in socio-economic discussion, it seems to be assumed that those who lack work or money are on that account wrongfully treated, it is desirable to ask what it is that entitles men to either—not in any spirit of cynicism, but rather in that of the scientific dictum, “*A nihilo nihil fit.*”

Remunerative work with payment by results is the basis of the industrial order on which our civilized life rests. When men earn largely the world has usually benefited in proportion; and, similarly, when they are paid very little or are unable to earn anything at all, it is fully probable that what they contribute to the service of the world is no less insignificant. Opportunities might very well be more equal, but it may be questioned whether under any different industrial system they would, on the whole, be as great; and whatever the system—whether individualist or socialist, competitive or paternal—the final cure of poverty must lie either in increasing the serviceableness of the work done, or in securing for the less capable a sufficient share of that which is produced by the more capable members of society, or most likely in a combination of these two.

Social remedies are all concerned with securing advantages for the less capable. Industrial remedies, while using both methods, are more particularly directed to the widening of opportunity and the increase of serviceableness.

Let us first take the case of insufficient pay.

At the outset, it may be observed that the employments in which a low rate of pay is found are those which almost anyone can undertake at short notice, as needing neither special training nor special powers of any kind. Under such conditions the rate of remuneration naturally falls to the bottom level, whatever that may be, and poverty is then not far off. For this state of things the most certain cure lies in improving the character of the work done or the service rendered. If this can be accomplished the worker will assuredly be lifted out of the slough in which he is now sunk. Nor is this all; for by the decrease in the numbers of those who are only fit for the lowest class of work, the value of even their poor services will be enhanced. It may perhaps be objected, that the overplus of labour would in that case be merely transferred; and that any gain to the lowest would be illusory, since the class above would be dragged down by the excessive competition. This objection assumes an economic rigidity very far from the truth. The wants and activities of men rise with the average of capacity, and the amount of work to be done is accordingly increased. Thus, more than in anything else, the way of improvement lies in the increase of the numbers of the capable and willing, and the decrease of the incapable or the shirkers. The industrial activity of capable men makes opportunities for all the world. In no other way can permanent advancement be attained. Acts of Parliament may do something to raise and protect the standard of life; combination among the workers be useful in fighting their battle; and public opinion have effect in strengthening, or even in creating, a sense of responsibility amongst employers; but unless the final result is to add to the utility and serviceableness of the work done, improvements have little chance of lasting.

This doctrine is applicable as much to the employer as

to the employed, or even more so; in their case on the largest scale may be seen "the making of opportunities for all the world." But if they fail —!

Unfortunately the inherent differences in the potentialities and value of human effort are imperfectly apprehended, and attention is chiefly directed to the terms on which the product, treated as a fixed quantity, shall be divided. The notion of "undifferentiated labour" is the basis of theoretic Socialism, and is more or less involved in all schemes for bringing industry under State control. Socialistic calculations and plans of action almost depend upon a simple labour unit. The extraordinary diversity of powers and conditions, to which every line of our inquiry bears witness, is constantly ignored, and the economic value, whether positive or negative, of the employer is scouted. Trade unionists, the working classes generally, and even a wider public, are to a considerable extent under the influence of these ideas.

They affect the relations of capital and labour in a somewhat onesided way. The employer is for ever seeking to utilize to the utmost the labour of those who work for him, and if he fails in economic virtue it will usually be on other ground than this; but on the part of the men thought is seldom given to the necessity of adapting the work done to the employers' needs. An attempt on his part to reduce wages, or the refusal to raise them, is never met by seeking to increase the utility of the services offered, but always and solely by a refusal to render them at all, or the threat of this; or occasionally, if the employer persist and a strike is inconvenient, by the opposite plan of giving as little utility as possible in exchange for the wages paid; that is by the fatal resource of giving slow work to match small pay, known as the "ca' canny" policy.

To fight is often strictly necessary, and the power to fight efficiently can never be dispensed with, but such

action as this, unless of the most temporary character, appears to me to be bad generalship on the part of the union leaders, as well as bad economics, and only to be accounted for by misconception on their part as to the permanent basis of industrial value. To seek to make a bargain more equal by decreasing the utility of what you have to sell is surely suicidal. If you give less (the Sybiline Books notwithstanding), you cannot reasonably hope to receive more. It will, perhaps, be said that to give less, either in quantity or quality, is the bottom fact in every rise of price, the method invariably adopted; but the parallel does not exactly hold. As regards quantity the portion of the product withheld remains in stock: it is not so as to labour which passeth with the day. As regards quality, if the quality be that of intensity, there is something to be said. Intensity implies exhaustion, and a man may as reasonably measure his services by units of effort as units of time; to do so is the basis of all piece-work remuneration. It may suit one man to work six or eight hours intensely and then stop for the day, while another gives ten or twelve hours to his task. Or the character of the work may decide the intensity of the strain it involves on nerve or muscle and the pay will rightly be proportionate (amongst other things) to the energy expended. No employer can reasonably ask more effort without offering more pay, unless the change is to be regarded as reducing the remuneration, and no employee can be expected to strain himself to the point of exhaustion, unless remunerated accordingly (only what he has agreed to do that he must honourably perform); but in the shape the bargain takes he will do well to consider the convenience of the employer and the success of the work.

Moreover, "quality" in work is by no means confined to intensity, or even skill, but includes conscientious care of every kind, and in this every man has much to give, for which he ought and would be paid, did he know how to

play his cards aright. The results are often attained. A good master will not fail to recognize such men, and in fixity of tenure, if in no other way, they reap what they have sown. But they play no game. It is part of their virtue that they are unconscious of it. It is only as an instance that I refer to their case. It is not of individual success that I am thinking, but of the policy and methods of action open to united bodies of men consciously seeking their own advantage and deliberately playing their own game. To them I would offer "*do ut des*" as a motto. The threat, "pay us well or we will serve you ill," cannot compare in effectiveness with the demand "pay us well because we serve you well." If wages are to be raised to the utmost and then maintained at the top level, it is essential that the wage-earner should consider first the interests of the employer.

It will, perhaps, again be hinted that "sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." Why, it may be asked, should the generosity of the opening, the present tense of "I give," be expected from the men rather than the masters? why should not the masters leave the subjunctive "that thou mayst give" (involving something also of a future tense) to the men? But it is not a practical suggestion. It is always for the seller to show his wares and satisfy the buyer of their value. The buyer must be won. He stands on guard. *Caveat emptor*. In this case buyers and sellers have a common interest more than usually direct, and were mutual suspicions at rest agreement ought not to be difficult. Moreover, no transaction stands alone. Every industrial bargain is based on the results of previous bargains and is the link which connects them with those which come after. To be jealous of the success of one's opponent in any transaction is shortsighted. His advantage to-day becomes the sure basis of your own success another time.

A margin of profit to the employer is necessary to

continuity of employment; in this sense it is his security. The more certain and safe it is the less this margin needs to be, and the less it will inevitably tend to become. By this means, in the end the wage-earner and the consumer together share a permanent benefit, and it must never be forgotten that the consumer is largely the wage-earner over again.

We have seen how various are the elements of utility. Men do not know the possibilities of their own value. Such virtues as truthfulness, honesty, and loyalty, might seem smirched if appraised, though they are the most valuable of all commodities. Others, such as trustworthiness, promptitude, punctuality, and sobriety are more freely recognized as merchantable qualities, and find a place wherever characters are asked and given. It is all these, no less than skill and strength, that make the value of a man's work; and to bring them to market, while it honours him, does not degrade them.

It is only by giving his best services that any man is in a position to insist upon a full reward. In this way each individual must seek industrial salvation. For low wages there is no other cure, and what is true of the one man is true also of the mass. Underlying all that may be done for him by combination or by legislation or by public sentiment, the individual, in asserting his claim to a living wage, needs to base his action on a sounder philosophy and a firmer faith than that which usually prevails. To be as useful as possible—such is the Gospel of industry; and there is no one, high or low, rich or poor, to whom it does not apply.

IV.

The poverty that is due to low wages is, in London, less in volume as well as less acute than that which is consequent on some form of lack of work. The causes of this indus-

trial failure and consequent irregularity of employment are many and complicated. Socialism boldly offers a solution, and to this owes its influence over the minds and hearts of men. But the ideal it holds out has no solidity of structure and no firm basis. This is shown by the splitting into different camps of those who are thus associated which is invariably experienced when the moment of action is even approached. Connected with this natural cleavage is the throwing off of the more violent elements under free discussion, the abandonment by the majority of extreme views, and the acceptance of legality of action. Amelioration of existing conditions, rather than radical change, then becomes the aim. Revolutionary ideas are discarded, and the whole subject falls into the lines of ordinary democratic government. Finally, it is found that the solution is not there. The dream has faded and is gone.

Even if there is agreement as to the ends in view, the means to be adopted under law and constitution to secure more equal conditions still leave room for much difference of opinion, and the widest divergence appertains to the part which the central authority is expected to play in improving the conditions of life. This action may be brought to bear on any of the troubles of the poor, but it is especially with regard to lack of work that its possibilities need now to be considered. For questions of public health and education are already fully recognized as being within the province of the State, and on the other hand, if the Socialistic idea yields so far as to admit wages at all, the rates will generally still be recognized as remaining within the scope of individual action, limited and controlled by voluntary combination. There then remain the questions of finding employment when needed, of savings, and of care for the future, as to all of which the proper sphere of the State is disputed, although with a general admission that interference with private initiative may, within certain limits, be desirable.

To be able and willing to work, and yet to be unable to obtain work, seems a hard fate, and singularly unnecessary in a world where the welfare of all might surely be capable of increase in some degree by the work of each. It would appear to be a mere question of the application of work to useful ends, but, however simple this may sound, it is fraught with great difficulties. The doubt that faces us is whether it is possible for the State by special action to start or stimulate work in one direction, without checking it, or taking away some other stimulus, in some other direction.

We may say with some confidence that the volume of employment depends on the relation which the amount of enterprise bears to the numbers seeking employment. But enterprise itself depends on many things: on the pressure of capital seeking investment; on the presence of unemployed (and therefore cheap) labour; on the demand of consumers for the things or services they require; and finally on the hope of gain, the spirit of adventure, and the pushing of inventive genius, and all these interact, employing each other as well as hiring labour. They are also all subject to two forms of exhaustion, being liable to repletion or collapse. The play of these forces is apt to result in cyclical alternations of good and bad times, and in a competitive struggle for success in which the weakest go to the wall. The question then is—Can the central action of the State or the interference of local government, either increase the total volume of enterprise or beneficially regulate its flow?

It is evident that any operation undertaken by the State must adversely affect some, if not all, of the sources of private enterprise. It will withdraw capital and so decrease the pressure exercised by the amount seeking investment. It will absorb labour and tend to raise its price. It will satisfy needs that would otherwise seek other methods of satisfaction. So far as it competes with private enterprise it will reduce the chances of profit, and may thus damp the

spirit of adventure. Public action may indeed forestall the natural flow of enterprise, but if this is all it can do, and if we suffer a permanent loss of spontaneity, we might find we had paid very dearly for the temporary advantage. In spite of this, so far as such action does not come into immediate competition with possible or probable private enterprise, there would still be some field for it. Within the limits of moderation there would be no serious objection to the absorption of labour and capital in this way. Neither capital nor labour are fixed and rigid in amount or in efficiency. Their elasticity in response to demand is great. Moreover, it is rare for either to be fully employed at any one time.

The limits to the desirability of such action depend on the nature of the government and also on the character of the people governed. With an absolute government and a dependent people, State enterprise may be desirable, whilst where there is freedom and industrial energy it would do more harm than good. The class of work, too, that it may be desirable to undertake varies according to the prevailing conditions of life; for instance, railways may be a more fitting national work where population is sparse, and the rebuilding of cities where it is crowded. In a general way it is desirable that the wants supplied by these means should be such as are widely felt, and at the same time more easily catered for by public than by private effort. In such cases, public action, if cautiously and carefully undertaken, may increase the total volume of enterprise and add greatly to the general prosperity.

Such operations, however, would not be aimed at, and would not particularly touch, the case of the unemployed, who are so, while others find work, mainly because of some personal disability under which they suffer. With greater general prosperity there might, indeed, be fewer of those who suffer in this way, but even that is not certain, and at any rate the class would not cease to exist.

To organize systematically the labour of those who are incapable of finding a living for themselves would be an entirely different undertaking. The Socialists think it can be done by self-devotion on the part of the capable, and a final sternness which shall enforce obedience by the threat of starvation. The practical difficulties in the way are perhaps overwhelming, but in theory I see no objection to the assumption by the State of this responsibility; and the very close limits within which alone such a course is possible, are due, not to fear of injury to independent lives nor to the danger of perpetuating or increasing the assisted class, as might at first be supposed, but arise solely because the incapable would refuse to submit to the discipline which alone would give any value either industrial or educational to their work. If attempted, it would be of the nature of a State charity, and socialistic in the sense of the Poor Law rather than as involving any change in the economies of industry.

It is to other quite as much as to industrial remedies that we must look for the cure or relief of poverty. We have to consider what the State or private effort does or might do in London for the young and for the old, for the morally weak and for the sick, as well as for the unemployed; and what religion and philanthropy are doing or might do to form public opinion, to supplement or modify the influence of legislation, and to disseminate wholesome views of human life; or what other action, public or private, may assist in eradicating the causes or softening the hardships of poverty.

CHAPTER XIII.

EXPENDITURE AND STANDARD OF LIFE.

WHEN a boy belonging to the working class in London has finished his schooling at thirteen or fourteen years of age, he readily finds work for which he is paid 4*s*, 5*s*, or 6*s* a week. As a general rule the poorer his future chances, the higher will be the immediate pay which he receives. In the already rare case of formal apprenticeship he usually foregoes all remuneration at the outset and, in addition, a premium will often have to be paid. In other cases the lad's earnings go to the man who teaches him, but this also is exceptional, and applies more commonly to father and son than to strangers. Thus for all practical purposes we may regard boys when they leave school as money-earners.

A boy usually hands over his money to his mother, who out of it gives him every morning pennies to be spent at lunch-time or needed for train or tramway fares, or allowed for pocket money. The rest of his earnings go towards the expenses of board, lodging, and clothes. It costs from 3*d* to 6*d* a day to feed a boy at home, including lunch, which, though generally eaten where he works, is prepared at home and carried in the pocket. The penny or so which may be added to be spent at the cocoa rooms would be additional.

As the boy grows older his weekly earnings rise. One who earned 5*s* when thirteen might be in receipt of any sum from 10*s* to 15*s* a week when he was eighteen years old, equal to a rise of from 1*s* to 2*s* each twelve months. After eighteen more and more divergence is shown, and by twenty or twenty-one some will be making men's wages while others are still earning no more than 14*s* or 15*s*. At some time between fourteen and eighteen years of age

the arrangement between the boy and his mother will probably take a different shape. He prefers to keep his wages, and pay his mother for board and lodging. This change usually occurs so soon as the mother would otherwise "make a profit" out of the boy; the same is true of girls also. Though it may savour more of business than the family tie, it is natural enough and has become customary.

The cost of keeping a young man in food varies a good deal, but depends mainly on the capacity of the housewife. A mother can satisfy her son more easily than others can, for it must be a very bad home if a lad does not prefer the food he obtains there to what he buys elsewhere. The money paid to the mother will vary from 5*s* to 10*s* a week, according to age and other circumstances, and out of this the boy or young man will obtain good value in board and lodging, washing and mending. On these terms, however small the profit may be, a mother is usually glad to have her son in the house. If the lad have no home, or for any other reason goes into lodgings, his living will cost him rather more. For the share of a room or, it may be, the half of a bed shared with some other young man, he would have to pay 3*s* or 3*s* 6*d* a week, or about 4*s* if he have a small room to himself. This charge, besides furniture and bed linen, includes the use of the kitchen to sit in and the cooking and serving of meals, both of the simplest; the lodger finding the uncooked food himself. It may or may not cover ordinary washing and mending, but starched shirts and collars would, in any case, be extra, and are usually sent to a laundry. If cooked meals are provided, the charge for them will be 8*s* to 10*s* a week.

Altogether, living in this way would cost a young man 10*s* to 14*s* a week for board and lodging. This calculation assumes that substantially all meals are provided at home, being either eaten there or taken from there if eaten elsewhere. When meals are consumed away from the house,

tea, coffee, cocoa, or beer will be bought in addition, and if food also is bought at a cook-shop or restaurant the expense of living is further increased.

A young man who is earning 15*s* a week has on this basis, over and above board and lodging, a small margin in hand—which is increased if he is living with his parents—with which to buy clothes and defray small charges*; and if his wages should be as much as 18*s* or 20*s* he is able to indulge in various pleasures. He may frequent the music-halls or pay for a bicycle by instalments, or take up any other pursuit, or indulge mildly in any extravagance to which his fancy turns, and may thus be considered well off. He might no doubt save money, but he rarely does so until he begins to look forward to marriage, and not always then. As he grows older his necessary weekly expenditure does not increase very much, while his pay, by the time he is twenty-two or twenty-three years old, rises to that of the full-grown man—to 20*s* or 30*s* or more, according to his trade. At this stage he generally marries and a new family life begins.

To pursue further this story of a working man's life, we will take the case of a man earning on the average 24*s* a week the whole year round, and suppose that he marries a young woman who has been earning 10*s* (out of which she probably has given her mother 7*s*, leaving 3*s* for her dress, &c.). When first married the wife will probably continue her work, and the married pair, living in lodgings with 3*4s* a week joint income, are better off than they were when apart, and if careful will soon save money enough to furnish a home of their own. But if children are born, the wife can no longer earn money, and with growing expenditure and a diminished income pressure begins to be felt.

* The margin that results from the economy of living at home may be at times absorbed by home claims of one kind or another, as for instance on account of widowed mothers, ailing fathers, or younger brothers and sisters but pleasures probably count for less.

We will assume that there are two children and try to make up the budget of these people. Hitherto their income has been sufficient and they do not readily begin to stint themselves. Their food and firing will probably cost 14s; rent, lighting, and renewals of furniture, will not be less than 6s; and thus there will be about 4s a week (or £10 a year) left for clothes, tobacco, club money, doctor, and pleasure or holiday expenses.

It is evident that there is here no great margin for drink or anything else; if drink is taken there will be so much the less money for other things. With three or four children the position is naturally worse; but even so the income of this family would be *2s or 3s a week above our supposed line of poverty*. With six or seven young children, and no increase of income, this household would fall below the line. The food obtained might still be sufficient, but the quantity of meat allowed must be small. Accommodation fully sufficient for four, and passing muster for five or six, would become very much crowded with eight or nine persons in the family. Clothes and furniture would become shabby, or go to pieces. Club payments would perhaps lapse; in case of illness or trouble there would be nothing to fall back upon; and undoubted poverty, if not actual destitution, must supervene unless there is exceptionally good management on the part of the woman, and very helpful self-denying conduct on the part of the man. When these are present, results which would seem impossible are achieved.

Happily, in very many cases the earnings by this time have risen. They tend to rise as responsibilities increase, and a family of six or eight with 28s or 30s coming in may do nearly as well as one of four or five persons on 24s. Moreover, the extreme pressure passes as soon as the eldest children begin to earn money.

I have assumed that the wife does not work for money after her children are born, and it is at any rate evident

that if she has several young children it could not be expected of her. She may, however, earn something by taking lodgers, forestalling in this way the position of a family with grown-up children. This resource, however, involves increased rent and more expenditure of capital for furniture than would be needed for the accommodation of elder children, and besides is subject to considerable risks from defaulting lodgers. In a lower class, amongst the chronically poor and very poor, when the man earns little or brings little home, and of course where there is no male bread-winner, the women almost always earn some money. The standard of life in many of these cases can be described only in negatives. It has rather been my aim to draw a rough picture of the most common lot—that of the fairly well fed and well clothed comfortable working class of London, and to indicate its risks and limitations.

Just as, starting from about 24s for a moderate family, each shilling a week less is a direct step into poverty, so each shilling a week more tells no less quickly in the opposite direction. As the weekly income rises from 20s to 22s, 24s, 26s, 28s, and 30s, not only does the whole standard of life gradually rise, but what goes for even more, that which is aimed at is attained. In this respect it is mainly the sum that regularly reaches the home that must be considered. What is done with the money, and the amount of comfort it yields, depends almost entirely on the wife. It may be said that habitual expenditure on extras of any kind, and even extravagance or squandering, if of such a description as can be laid aside at need, provide a kind of reserve. But wastefulness, whether on the part of the husband or the wife, affects the comfort of the home as much as, or perhaps more than, the presence of three or four additional children, so that with wasteful ways earnings of 24s or 28s become no more than 22s or 26s, or even less for any good they do.

This is no less true, though it may be less serious, when the money earned is 35s, 40s, or even 50s; and many a family which might be living in easy comfort is dragged down in this way. Otherwise a wide difference in standard of life, amounting almost to a class distinction, is noticeable between those who earn less and those who earn more than 35s a week, or thereabouts.

It is not possible to say with certainty or exactness what proportion of the population are living above, and what proportion below, this line, or any other line that might be chosen. The difficulties in the way of such calculations have been dwelt upon in the first part of this volume. Rates of wages are both incomplete and incorrect as records of income, because of the subsidiary earnings of children or wife, and because of periods out of work and other forms of irregularity of employment. Moreover, no returns that can be obtained represent fully the whole body of workers. We can, therefore, only arrive at an estimate. The result of all our inquiries make it reasonably sure that one-third of the population are on or about the line of poverty or are below it, having at most an income which one time with another averages 21s or 22s for a small family (or up to 25s or 26s for one of larger size), and in many cases falling much below this level. There may be another third who have perhaps 10s more, or, taking the year round, from 25s to 35s a week, among whom would be counted, in addition to wage-earners, many retail tradesmen and small masters; and the last third would include all who are better off. The first group, who are practically those who are living two or more persons to each room occupied, contains our classes A, B, C, and D. The next, with on the average nearly one room to each person, consists of class E, with portions of F and G; while the final group includes the rest of F and G and all of Class II—that is, all those who employ servants as well as some of those who do not. Of the first, many are

pinched by want and all live in poverty, if poverty be defined as having no surplus. The second enjoy solid working-class comfort, and of the third group the worst-off live in plenty and the best-off in luxury.

In describing the prevailing standard of life it will be desirable first to revert to the description of the six lower classes given in the first volume of the Poverty Series.

Of the lowest class, A, which cannot be associated in any regular way with industrial or family life, nothing more need now be said. The common lodging-house caters for their necessities and the public-house for their superfluities. Their ultimate standard of life is almost savage, both in its simplicity and in its excesses.

Class B, the very poor, whose earnings are irregular as well as small, contains, like every other class, a mixture of many kinds, but the most prevailing characteristic is incompetence, which may be due to age or illness, but is often aggravated by indulgence in alcohol. The staple food of this class is bread, and for a beverage at their meals they usually drink tea. Other articles of food they add as they may be able; margarine to spread on the bread, or jam if there are children, a little bacon or some fried fish. Potatoes are largely used, greens sometimes, and the cheap parts of beef and mutton on occasion when the money in hand goes far enough. The food is ill-cooked and often tasteless, and pickles are commonly added as a relish. Alcohol, whether in the form of beer or spirits, is mostly taken apart from, or in place of, food. The clothing worn is in most cases sufficient for warmth, but is disreputable in appearance, ill-fitting and unsuitable. Cast-off clothes of the wealthy, passing downwards, are bought and sold, as well as given; and these carry with them a faded smartness even as regards men's clothes, while the outer garments of the women show much tawdriness of trimming and the relics of past fashion, in

shapes which have lost what meaning they may ever have possessed. This class may almost be distinguished by its deplorable boots.

The typical home of such families is extremely miserable and unsavorny. The furniture, whether much or little in quantity, consists of things barely worth pawning, or they would have been pawned; things not only shabby and broken, but foul. The bed-clothes are grimy as well as ragged, and, except in hot weather, their insufficiency is eked out by flinging on the bed such of the day-clothes as are discarded for the night. The same room serves for living and sleeping, cooking and washing, for children of all ages as well as for man and wife. Remains of food are always about—there is perhaps no cupboard—probably part of a loaf is on the table with a little butter and a much-used knife, or a teapot, an unwashed cup or two and a cracked plate. The window, broken, patched, and dirty, indicates more perhaps than anything else that no housewifely pride is taken. Such is the appearance presented by a home of this class to the casual visitor.

The inmates may not be so badly off as they seem. They may perhaps be “qualifying for relief,” and prefer to look poor; or they may be habitual squanderers of their resources. But, on the other hand, they may be starving. In any case they are most likely incapable of permanent improvement. They may be detected in deception, but will again try to deceive; may be shamed for a time, but will not cease to squander; or they may be fed and assisted to make a fresh start, but do not and cannot become self-supporting. Such at least is the rule. Where poverty is connected with sickness or old age, even when permanent improvement cannot be looked for, there is at times a noble and most arduous struggle to maintain respectability. And there are now and then cases of industrial disability, no less sad, which are the result of pure misfortune. Or it may be that under an unfortunate marriage, the respectable partner attempts,

with disheartening results, to prevent the ruin threatened by the conduct of the other.

The standard of life characteristic of Class B as I have described it does not of course apply strictly to the whole 300,000 persons who, according to our estimates, belong to this class in London. There are many gradations, and as there is no clear line of division between class and class it may be roughly assumed that one-third of the whole number counted would approach more or less towards the standard of Classes C or D.

The distinction we have drawn between Classes C and D, rests on the question of regularity or irregularity of earnings, and so carries with it some difference in standard of life. It would not be actually impossible for the family of a man who earned on the year's average 21*s* a week, to live regularly at that rate, although he might make 35*s* in some weeks and not more than 7*s* in others. But such self-control is not to be expected, and consequently as a rule there is a great difference between the ways of life in Class C, where the work, though fairly well paid, is irregular and uncertain, and the habits of Class D, where the wages, though not high, are the same or nearly the same, week by week, all the year round.

In Class D there is never the consciousness of spare cash; the effect of any unwonted expenditure is felt at once in short commons at the week end. The result is that extravagances are avoided and the wife spends the regular sum she receives in much the same manner week after week. A good deal of bread is eaten and tea drunk, especially by the women and children, but the meals have a more attractive character than with Class B. Bacon, eggs, and fish appear regularly in the budgets. A piece of meat cooked on Sunday serves also for dinner on Monday and Tuesday, and puddings, rarely seen in Class B, are in Class D a regular institution, not every day, but sometimes in the week. On the whole these people have enough, and

very seldom too much, to eat ; and healthy though rather restricted lives are led. The clothes worn are sometimes second-hand, but if not new when bought they have at least been made to look new. More generally, however, these people buy new things of common though often sterling quality at cheap shops, and both men and women look creditably dressed. It is on the children that the passion for finery spends itself. In this class children play a great part, being at once the plague and pride of their parents' lives. But whether plague or pride, their influence in dragging families into poverty is seldom thought of at all.

The home, however poor and however crowded, is on a different plane altogether from that found in Class B. The window is bright, shrouded with clean cotton-lace curtains, and often filled with plants ; or a little table holding some treasured ornament is pushed forward between the curtains, that passers-by may see it. "I am very particular about my windows," said a woman of this class, in whose house I once occupied an unfurnished room, and I hope my curtains did her no discredit. The condition of the window is typical of all the rest. The furniture, though poor, is cared for, and if the atmosphere is sometimes close, at any rate it does not share the foul and acrid smell which is the almost invariable characteristic of the homes of Class B, and of which the very streets reek where their houses are found. There is nothing depressing about the homes of Class D, except perhaps on washing day—and not then unless the clothes have to be dried indoors—and the life is one that might for a while be shared with pleasure by anyone. Its peculiar curse, the narrow margin between such a life and destitution, the lack of any protection against the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," happily does not weigh much on the minds of this class.

The people of Class C, though on the whole worse off than those of Class D, have in a certain sense a higher standard. For this class demands and aims at more than it can achieve,

except when times are good. Just as Class B represents the failure of D, so Class C is the failure of E, irregularity of earnings or of conduct being the explanation in both cases, and the proportion of failure to success is the measure of each class. It will be enough as regards C, if, when we come to describe the manner of life in E—the class of fully-paid labour in regular employ—we remember that the people of the former class, although they may wish to live like E, must, when earnings fail, either fly to the pawnshop, or get into debt, or go without the food to which they have been accustomed. For Class C spends the money as it comes. These people vary among themselves as regards the extent or proportion in which they apply these financial expedients, and also, radically, according to the nature of the irregularity from which they suffer: that is according to whether it is of long or short duration; a matter of seasons, or occasional in its character. Thus this class affords great variety of condition without any very distinct type.

Class E contains the largest section of the people, and is thus, more than any other, representative of the “way we live now.” Meals are more regular. For dinner, meat and vegetables are demanded every day. Bacon, eggs and fish find their place at other times. Puddings and tarts are not uncommon, and bread ceases to be the staff of life. Skill in cookery becomes very important, and though capable of much improvement, is on the whole not amiss. In this class no one goes short of food. Clothes necessary for warmth and comfort are usually good and suitable; they wear well and are well worn. It is only when smartness is attempted that rubbish is bought, and unserviceableness and cheapness going together, money is wasted. Even so, if the young men and young women succeed in looking as they would wish to look in the evening or on the Sundays in each other’s eyes, they obtain their money’s worth. The working clothes are according

to the nature of the work. The holiday garments are as nearly as possible in the fashion of the day. As a rule, none of the clothes are second-hand.

In the furnishing and care of the houses or rooms in which Class E dwells, considerable housewifely pride is shown, though the results secured fall short of what is commonly attained by villagers much lower in the industrial scale. The furniture is usually inconvenient and ill-arranged, and is almost always ugly. It is probably impossible to combine beauty with such lack of individuality as goes with the cheapest forms of production, and the very small size of the rooms makes arrangement difficult. Still, with better taste something more might be done. Taste in this matter is, indeed, hardly exercised at all, but displays itself mostly in covering the walls with pictures. The kitchen, with high chimneypiece, set about with bright metal candlesticks and dish covers, is the most attractive room in every house.

Between a typical home of Class E and a typical home in F—the class of foremen and highly-paid artisans—there is a wide distinction both in the character of the accommodation and in the use made of it. Class E may have a parlour as well as a kitchen, but it is not used except on Sunday; or if regular use is made of it, it is as a bedroom for overflowing children. Class F not only always has a parlour, but uses it as such. It is used by the family to sit in, as well as for entertaining company, and some, at any rate, of the meals are eaten there. In Class E, as also in Classes C and D, ablutions are usually performed at the sink in the back kitchen, or sometimes in warm weather a tap in the yard may be resorted to. This rule applies to both sexes. Little children, on the other hand, are generally washed before the kitchen fire. Men going early to their work do not wash in the morning, and when they come home may even eat before doing so. But, hunger satisfied, they “clean themselves up” before going out.

Those whose work begins after breakfast come downstairs half-dressed in order to wash; and either finish the operation in the back-kitchen, where there is usually a small looking-glass and often a brush and comb, or return to their bedroom for this purpose. It is the same with the women and girls. Those who start early postpone washing till evening, and the others take their turn—usually after the men have gone. Sometimes a lodger will have water carried to his room; but if so, it probably indicates that he belongs to Class F.* In Class F the back kitchen as a place for ablutions is superseded by the bedroom, and not infrequently in new houses by the bathroom, by which means much carrying of cans and pails up and down stairs is avoided.

With F we reach the summit of working-class life. The head of the family earns from 40s to 60s, or even 70s a week, and there are often other members bringing in money. They live very comfortably and many of them save money, or insure their lives for a substantial sum.

I have made no attempt to gauge the income of the middle and upper classes, and have not prepared any account of their expenditure and manner of existence, but the degree of luxury which prevails is very fairly measured by the particulars given of the number of servants kept compared to the numbers of those on whom they wait.

In various other respects as well as in food, clothing, and house accommodation, broad differences may be noticed between class and class, or a sliding scale from A or B, to F. For instance, very poor people hardly ever venture into any but the smallest description of shop, and for each class there is a corresponding grade. This is a rule, rarely broken, which applies to all ranks of society. So, too,

* The standard of life is rising, and in some respects is altering fast. It may be that I have put it too low. Moreover, my experience is hardly sufficient for very confident generalization.

with regard to the trades taken up by the boys; and still more as to the occupations sought by the girls; each class follows its own course, guided as to the boys mainly by the degree of necessity for immediate earnings, and as to the girls by the relative gentility of this or that kind of work. In these respects the shortening or prolonging of education is closely connected with the choice made, and here again we recognize a distinction which holds good throughout society.

Education itself is another test. At the very bottom every effort is made to avoid or abbreviate school life; in the next class the children are hurried through their "standards," in order to go to work as soon as possible; above this, the period is voluntarily extended from thirteen, to fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, and so on, till, with those who go to a university, the educational period lasts till twenty-three or twenty-four years of age.

The up-bringing and training of children is an even surer standard by which class can be tested and measured. The children of the poor (Classes B, C, and D) are treated injudiciously and very frequently spoilt. If they are not spoilt they are probably treated harshly; or the two plans may be combined. As we rise from B to E or F, with each gradation there is less spoiling and less harshness; or in other words less want of self-control on the part of the parents. The spoiling, combined with ignorance and poverty, results frequently in improper feeding, such as the lack of milk. Children cry and are given something to eat—just as a babe is given the breast—or are bribed with sweets. "Something to eat," in this case is usually bread and butter or bread and jam; and rejected pieces that the children throw away may be seen in the gutters of any poor street.

Further, both birth-rate and death-rate are highest amongst the very poor, and both rates fall as we change our point of view from class to class. The greatest excess of

births over deaths—*i.e.* the highest rate of increase—probably lies with the lower middle class. Connected with this is the period of marriage, which is at the earliest age with the lowest and at the latest with the upper grades of society.

As to club-membership, insurance and savings generally, there are distinct class divisions; not but that there are in each class those who do or do not use their money in this way, but that what they attempt, and how they attempt it, differs.

The standard of life as tested by holidays, applies rather to the middle and upper classes, than to families of working men. Comparatively few employments are so constant as not to yield vacation enough, and in some cases when the slack season falls at a convenient time of year, advantage is taken by those who can afford it, to arrange a week at the seaside. Otherwise, and more generally, enforced idleness is a poor substitute for a holiday. But when the times of work are within a man's own control, and especially if he can make up for times of idleness by extra efforts, short holidays are very frequent. Sometimes nearly half of every week is taken in this way. When work is not subject to these irregularities, the granting of a week's holiday by the employers is not unusual, and full advantage is taken by almost everyone of Bank Holidays and other established days. To belong to the militia and have a few weeks each summer under canvas is a common plan for single men, and whole families of the very poorest of the population go fruit and hop-picking in the home counties with the same effect. With the middle and upper classes the amount of holiday taken and the way in which it is spent, from a fortnight at the seaside to a winter in Algeria or Egypt, serves very fairly to distinguish various social grades. Amongst the upper classes holiday-making has been raised to the level of a fine art and invested almost with the character of a religious observance.

The difference in standard of life between the sober man and the drunkard is perhaps the greatest of all, but does not lie on class lines with any exactness. Amongst the lower classes, A to E, there is little difference in the way in which a taste for drink is indulged. There are, indeed, grades of public-houses which answer to the classes which principally frequent them, but beyond the one broad distinction between a man who drinks at home and a man who drinks abroad, there is little difference in habit. To describe truly the standard of life in London as to drink, requires more special study. It is enough to say here that the amount of money wasted in this folly is enormous, and forms one main explanation of the disproportion shown in our statistics between average earnings and results in the comforts of home.

Theatre-going and the frequenting of music-halls, again, is a question of age or individual taste rather than class. In every class the young men go most, but in every class there are found stalwart theatre-goers for whom the amusement never palls. As with public-houses, there are music-halls and theatres of every grade. The increase in the taste for such amusements, and in the opportunities for indulging it, is very remarkable. We have seen how naturally this expenditure falls in with the surplus cash of the time before marriage.

All classes in London give largely in charity. They differ (but only as between the upper class and the rest) in the method, and to some partial extent in the aim or sentiment. It is probable that the poorest people give the most in proportion to what they have. The widow's mite is a recurring fact in daily life, and no credit is claimed for it. "I could not see them starve," is the simple explanation given; or, "we shall never miss it." The sight of a beggar's, possibly deliberate, misery never fails to touch their simple hearts. Their gifts are spontaneous and thoughtless, and could never be subjected

to rule, or organized, and still less administered, by others. Their own position, often not very far removed from want, quickens their sympathies, and the word "undeserving" does not stay their hand. Doleful street-singing is most successfully practised in poor streets.

Window-gardening, the cultivation of plants under glass, and still more the keeping of pet animals and other hobbies, are common to all classes, and are the source of very much pleasure, especially to those whose means are small. The cat's-meat man and the bird-fancier's shop are marks of a poor neighbourhood, and the itinerant vendor of plants is seen everywhere.

The taste for reading, again, is no question of class. In nearly every section there seem to be born students, and everywhere are also found eager readers of the current trash of the day. Many men in every class read nothing but the sporting papers. The main difference discernible lies in the use by the working classes of a weekly in place of a daily paper, and with the introduction of halfpenny papers this distinction becomes each year less marked. The proportion of income spent on literature of one kind or other is perhaps as great with the poor as with the rich, and free libraries are largely used by a limited number of people.

As to religion, each class is touched in some fashion, and each religious organization plays its part. What this part is, and in what way each class is affected, will be an important part of the concluding portion of this work, in which an attempt will be made to measure the influences under which the people live.

Just as the chief impression made by the first part of this inquiry into the Life and Labour of London was one of mass, so that made by the second part is one of detail. We divide London by classes, and the imagination is appalled by the aggregate numbers living under very similar

conditions, in streets any one of which seems quite like any other. The map with its half-dozen colours tells the whole story, and description is mere reiteration. We divide by trades and are bewildered not only by the multiplicity of these divisions, but by the great variety of status amongst the workers in each trade. Industry is seen to be a very complex affair, and irrepressible individuality is its key-note.

The result is that no grouping of trades is satisfactory or even of much utility, and for the purposes of these concluding words I incline to discard trades or groups of trades, classes or groups of classes, and think of the whole population simply as individuals or as families, each and all fighting for themselves and for those who belong to them, the good battle of life. This point of view brings us once more face to face with the contrasts of poverty and wealth.

Looked at from the side of industry, life presents itself as full of chances, the best use of which demands free individuality. This is the main conclusion to which the study of London trades has tended. In this fact we find the only security for collective prosperity, and, though all do not share alike, and however wide the difference in lot, I cannot doubt that it provides also the best hope for the diffusion of comfort and wealth. Advantages and opportunities might be made more equal than they are, and the more equal the better, but even if it were possible to make them absolutely the same for all, the deepest roots of social inequality would remain untouched; for success depends mainly on the power to grasp and make use of opportunities as they occur. Even now they offer so freely that there is no one born who does not continually let them slip. The chances that offer, to be grasped or missed with reward or penalty attached, make of men's lives a struggle which never ends and which falls very hardly on some; but from this very struggle the whole community, and every individual in it, undoubtedly gains.

A kindly critic of my work has asked me to say if possible "what it all amounts to." What I understand to be sought is an opinion, based on the facts disclosed, as to the actual condition in which the population of London lives and the opportunities which their lives afford.

To this question the present volume gives a rather lengthy answer. But, to sum it up, what in effect is this answer? If we lift up our hands and our voices, is it to be in rejoicing or in horror? May we step forward with hope, or must we learn patiently to endure the evils we cannot cure?

It is remarkable that these should still be open questions. But, no doubt, difference of opinion on them springs largely from the point of view adopted. If I now state my own view it may at least serve as a peg on which discussion might hang, and if I hesitate to do so it is because I do not wish to add any colour if it can be avoided to the white light in which I have tried to work in making researches into existing facts. What I have endeavoured to present to my readers is a picture or a way of looking at things, rather than a doctrine or an argument. I have been glad to see my book furnish weapons and ammunition for absolutely opposed schools, and can even make shift to stifle my annoyance when it is occasionally quoted in support of doctrines which I abhor.

In its pages Londoners have been described as they live, and again as they work, but now in attempting to obtain a correct general impression, we may perhaps turn to yet another method and consider the living picture—of which every spectator is himself a part—which the people of London offer, as, on business or on pleasure bent, they are seen in their streets. It is no holiday show that is thus exhibited, but merely a fair sample of the every-day appearance and daily life of four million people. To me it is always an inspiring sight, especially in the main streets, and not the least so in those of the poorest districts. The mere bustle of a crowd, which is the first impression left

upon the mind, resolves itself into the eagerness, energy, and individuality of its component parts. Men, women and children, all or nearly all, are keenly pursuing some aim, so much so, that the few of whom this is not true attract attention and often become objects of suspicion. Nearly all are well dressed and look well fed. Ragged clothes or hungry faces catch the eye when they occur. In quiet streets where there is neither crowd nor bustle it is the same; the passers-by are going about their business and seldom seem to call for pity on account of poverty. We thus have the general impression of a well-to-do energetic people, and we find this impression borne out by all the facts and every test that can be applied; but subject, just as they are, to the presence of exceptions, and in about the same degree. Here and there as one walks some woe-begone figure slips past, or a glimpse is caught of some back street. We may then turn to our statistics to learn what proportion such things bear to the rest, and it would seem that the proportion is on the whole much the same as is indicated by the panorama of the street. If we would plumb the degree of misery involved, or analyze its causes we may do so from the annals of the people and streets that these volumes contain, or far better, bring to bear upon the quest personal knowledge gained in attempts to improve the conditions of life or relieve distress.

To the question of another critic, "What is the good of it all?" I shall still attempt no answer. I trust in the efficacy and utility of the scientific method in throwing light upon social questions, and the work on which I am engaged is not yet finished. In spite of the length to which it has attained, I have to ask once more the patience of my readers. The circumstances which may lead to poverty are various. In my next volumes I hope to show the extent to which remedies of many kinds, wise and unwise, are now being applied; and in this way, before

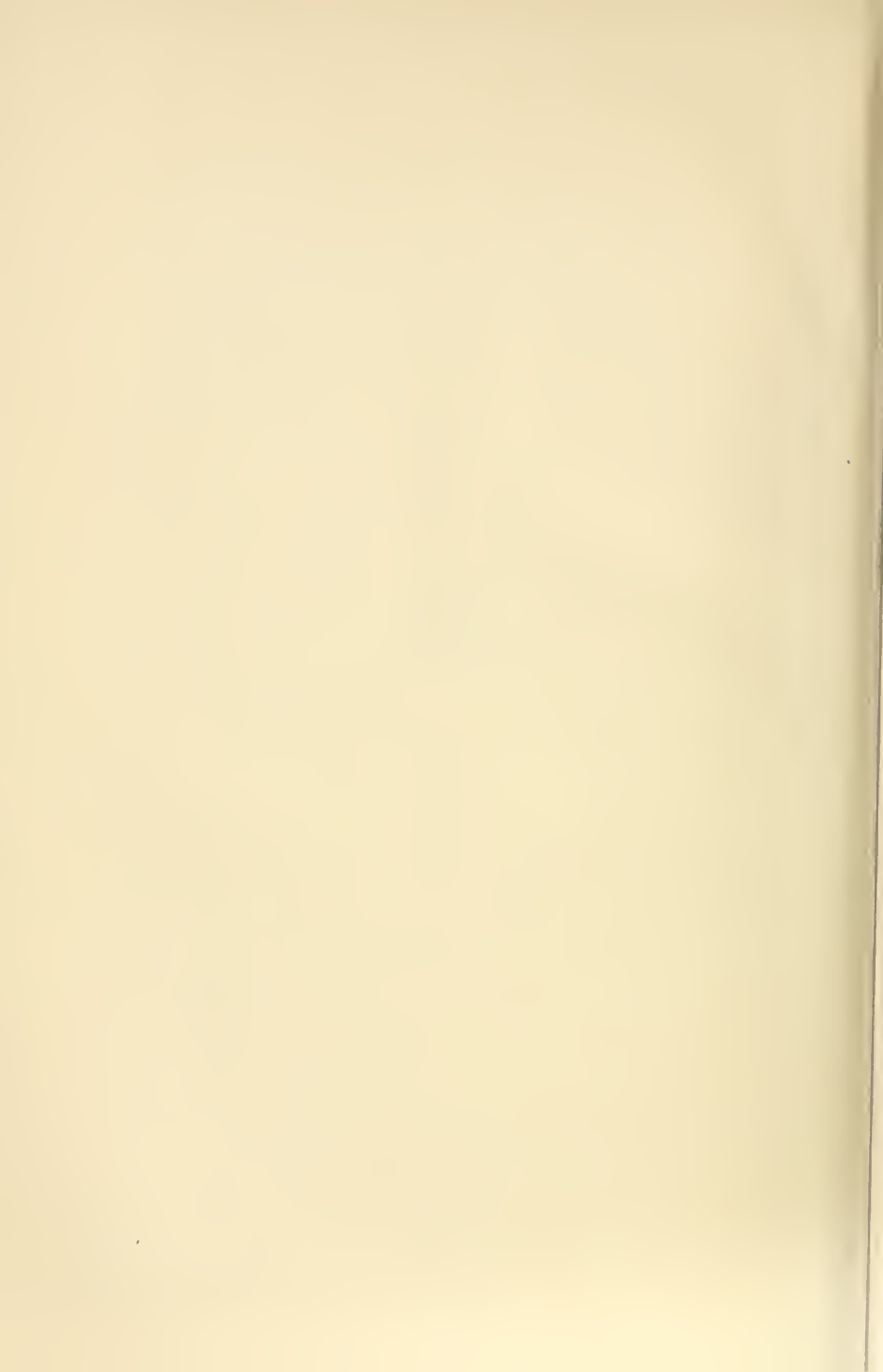
attempting to decide what further or other action should be pursued, take stock of what is being done now, and try to trace the effects of the agencies and influences, actually at work, upon the existing state of things.

If I can accomplish this, and besides showing where poverty exists in London and in what degree, and something of its relation to industry, which has now been done, indicate also the manner in which the condition of the people is affected for good or evil by social action of various kinds, it may become easier than it now is to avoid the wrong and choose the right path ; and the question of my critic will have been answered.

THE END.



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ERRATA IN PREVIOUS VOLUMES OF THE INDUSTRIAL
SERIES.

VOL. I.

p. 293, under "Status as to Employment," the figures for Fitters and for Millwrights have been transposed. Total of Fitters should be 9270, and of Millwrights 351, instead of *vice versa*.

VOL. II., APPENDIX.

Part I., Table B, p. 367.—The total of C and D should be 1·2 %, and E should be ·2 %. The figures have been transposed.

Part III., Table B, p. 373.—Printers (No. 5) should be 3084, *not* 23,084.

VOL. III.

p. 21, see correction, Vol. IX., p. 201, *note*.

p. 92, *for* "nearly 186,000," *read* "nearly 136,000."

p. 146, line 3 of note, *for* "quality" *read* "quantity."

p. 150, line 12 from bottom, *for* "Friday" *read* "Thursday."

p. 214.—The figures for Greengrocers and Oil and Colourmen have been transposed. The total of Greengrocers should be 4031, and of Oil and Colourmen 9530, instead of *vice versa*.

p. 231.—The figures for Males and Females have been transposed in the Census Enumeration. The total of Males should be 4794, and of Females 6210, instead of *vice versa*.



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